Том 1

АКТУАЛНИ ПРОБЛЕМИ В СЪВРЕМЕННАТА КИТАИСТИКА И ИЗТОКОЗНАНИЕ

Доклади от международната конференция, посветена на 25-годишнината от откриването на специалност „Китаистика" в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски"

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Determining Subclasses of Predicates in Chinese from a Dependency Grammar Viewpoint

Alexander B. Alexiev

Abstract

For a language with an isolating typology such as Chinese it is dependency grammar that provides the adequate language description model. Verbs and adjectives are the most important parts of speech for dependency or valency grammars, because they are considered predicate cores that generate all the other elements in the sentence. Thus, having a suitable classification system of predicates and the typical set of constructions they produce, as core elements of syntax, based on semantics, is key to Chinese grammar. This paper attempts to review some selected classification systems of verbs, grouped according to different characteristics, and make some recommendations for an optimal system of predicates for future use in Chinese dependency grammar.

Keywords: Chinese, dependency grammar, valency, sentence predicate, classification of predicates.

Chinese is a well-known example of an isolating language – grammatical meaning of its content words is overwhelmingly conveyed by word order and function words, rather than the few available synthetical and analytical grammatical morphemes (Yakhontov 2016 (1965): 130-33)[1]. Its isolating typology puts certain special requirements to its grammatical description. Unlike grammars made for the European languages, rich in morphological word forms, the most appropriate grammar model for representing syntactic structures in Chinese would be one that is based on semantics and word order. Such a model is provided by the dependency grammar, also called valency grammar.

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[1] In comparison, Bulgarian is considered an analytical language: grammatical meanings of its words are conveyed by word forms – synthetical (outer inflexion) and analytical, whose distribution is relatively balanced (MBL 1999: 311).

The prototype of dependency grammar was developed in the first half of the 20th century by the French linguist Lucien Tesnière, who first noted the ability of words to combine semantically into parts of the sentence like chemical elements in a molecule (Tesnière 1953; 1959). The baseline methodological principles for describing a language of an isolating type through dependency grammar can be traced back to the ideas of the German linguist Georg von der Gabelentz from the end of the 19th century about the semantic and functional classes of words in Classical Chinese language (Gabelentz (1881) 2012). Following Tesnière, approaches toward this type of grammar have been developed and formulated for Korean, Japanese and Chinese in the works of Prof. Alexander Holodovich from Saint-Petersburg University in Russia in the 1960s (Holodovich 1979). A comprehensive dependency grammar of Classical Chinese was developed at the end of the 20th century by his student Prof. Tamara Nikitina from Saint-Petersburg University on the basis of a rich collection of Classical Chinese texts (Nikitina 1982-1, 2, 3). At the beginning of the 21st century, drawing upon language material from Chinese publicistic style, Prof. Nikitina also developed the first dependency grammar of the modern Chinese language (Nikitina 2006).

After the Cultural Revolution, in the 1970s Lucien Tesnière's linguistic insights also found their way into China. Their earliest implementation attempts were made by Zhu Dexi (1978; 1979) 2001), who was the first Chinese linguist to use the concept of **valency** (Lu 1997: 3) [2]. He takes notice and remarks, particularly, about the verb *xiě* 'write' (写), that it would be correct for it to combine with gěi 'to give' (给) to make the phrase *He wrote me several letters* (他写给我好几封信), but it is incorrect to say *He wrote me a pair of Spring festival couplets* (*他写给我一副春联). According to Zhu this is because "when 'write' combines with 'letter' it acquires the sense 'give', and thus supposes the existence of an addressee of the letter, while in xiě chūnlián (写春联) 'write Spring festival couplets'

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[2] In his terminology, valency was first called *xiang* (向), but later in Chinese linguistics the term *jia* (价) was adopted – in concordance with the already endorsed chemical term (化合价), thus the relevant term for dependency grammar became *peijia yufa* (配价语法).

it does not" (Zhu (1987) 2000: 82)[3]. This is the way dependency grammar analysis works to determine the use of words with a certain meaning and position in a particular predicative construction[4]. Word forms in Chinese manifest themselves on a syntactic, rather than morphological level. We can thus assume that the Chinese word has a **syntactic paradigm** (Sehnal 2016: 582–3).

Central question for dependency grammars is the ability of a certain type of predicate to determine and combine with a certain number of arguments with a specific position and semantics in accordance with its valency. Fan Shao and Hu Yushu propose a standard classification of Chinese predicates according to valency (范晓 & 胡裕树 1995). A **minimal self-sufficient predicative construction (**最小的意义自足的主谓结构**)**, except **syntactic elements under strong governance (**强制性句法成分**)** or **verb arguments (**动元**)**, usually includes also „**non-strongly governed" elements (**非强制性的成分**)**. **Monovalent verbs (**一价动词**)** take one argument **(**动元**)**, ex. zuì 'get drunk' (醉), **bivalent (**二价动词**)** – two arguments, ex. kànqí 'align with' (看齐), and **trivalent (**三价动词**)** – three arguments, ex. yàoqiú 'ask someone to do smth' (要求) (范晓 & 胡裕树 1995: 156).

Yuan Yulin analized the number, common semantics and position of arguments of 1640 Chinese verbs. To the usual set of **mono-, bi- and trivalent verbs (**一元动词, 二元动词, 三元动词**)** he and added a fourth group – the **quasi-bivalent verbs (**准二元动词**)**, – those with a meaning of cooperative action (协同动词), like xiāngshì 'meet' (相识), jiāoshǒu 'fight hand to hand' (交手), or benefactor activity (针对动词), like fúwù 'serve someone' (服务), shòuyè 'learn the trade from someone' (受业) (袁毓林 1998). Their second argument – a prepositional complement, exhibits semantic characteristics of both subject and object of the action verb, for example *I met with him last year* (我去年和他相识), *We serve the people* (我们为人

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[3] "这种形式上的对立告诉我们" 写春联"里的"写"不包含给予的意义，而"写信"的"写"包含给予意义。这个现象其实也不难理解。当"写"跟"信"组合的时候，蕴含着有收信人一方存在，所以这个时候"写"就取得了给予的意义。"

[4] For a concise history of Chinese valency grammar studies in China in the past 20 years see Gao 2008.

民服务), or *We learn from the masters* (我们受业于章门) (袁毓林 1998: 99).

Qu Yunhua, Xu Jinxiu and Wang Xiaoying engage in a comparative analysis of classifications of English and Chinese verbs (Qu, Xu & Wang 2016). They point out an upside of **valency classes (**价类**)** that is their small number, – an opportunity to combine them with the complex, but highly accurate system of **linear combinations (**线性组合**).**The downside is **valency ambiguity (**变价**)**, ex. rēng 'throw' (扔) – bivalent in *threw out a piece of clothing* (扔了一件衣服), but trivalent in construction with two complements: *throw me a ball* (扔我一个球). Hence, the authors see a necessity to combine valency ambiguities of verbs with their **transitivity-intransitivity properties (**及物性的变化**)**, ex. *zǒu* 'walk, go, leave' (走) is intransitive in *She left* (她走了) and transitive with a nonprepositional complement of location *She does the catwalk* (她走台步) (Qu, Xu & Wang 2016:40). This is possible, because combination of the two groups of characteristics – transitivity and valency do not correspond directly one-to-one – a valency class can relate to several transitivity classes. Hence, intransitive kànqí 'align oneself with smth' (看齐), which governs a prepositive prepositional complement is actually bivalent (A 向 B 看齐), not monovalent. The three authors also reject the notion of **zero valency verbs (**零价**)** in Chinese[5], like meteorological verbs xiàxuě 'It is snowing' (下雪), guāfēng 'The wind is blowing' (刮风), which they do not recognize as compound verbs, but as predicative constructions. They propose a hybrid classification system:

Intransitive (不及物动词)	Monovalent intransitive (一价不及物动词)
	Bivalent intransitive (二价不及物动词)
	Trivalent intransitive (三价不及物动词)
Monotransitive (单及物动词)	Bivalent monotransitive (二价单及物动词)
	Trivalent monotransitive (三价单及物动词)
Ditransitive (双及物动词)	Trivalent ditransitive (三价双及物动词)

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5   Lu Jianmin is one of the proponents of zero valency verbs in Chinese "一个动词如果不能支配任何行动元那它就是零价动词 （汉语中的"地震、刮风"就是零价动词）" (Lu 1997: 3).

Tamara Nikitina defines 15 groups of predicates, determined by semantic and functional subclasses:

1. Transitive verbs – bivalent, with a prepositive Subject of a transitive conscious action, directed at an Object that experiences its impact and undergoes change as a result of that;

2. Verbs or Adjectives of relation – bivalent, where the prepositive Subject relates in a certain way symmetrically or asymmetrically to the Object, both arguments usually taking the form of predicative constructions themselves;

3. Verbs of process (dynamic state) and state (concluded process) – monovalent, where the prepositive Subject does not control the situation;

4. Adjectives (permanent property of the Subject) – monovalent, with a prepositive Subject of the characteristic;

5. Verbs of appearance or existence – bivalent, with a prepositive element denoting location in space or time, and a postpositive Subject of appearance or existence;

6. Verbs of location (existence at a particular place) – bivalent, with a prepositive Subject of location and a postpositive complement of location in space or time[6;]

7. Verbs of directional movement – bivalent, with a prepositive Subject, who controls the situation and a postpositive complement of location in space or time. With a Subject, which does not control the situation or with a figurative meaning the verb denotes state together with the postpositive element;

8. Causative verbs – trivalent, governing a prepositive Subject of causation, a postpositive Object of causation, which is also the Subject of a second dependent verb, which in turn determines its own dependent elements;

9. Verbs with type meanings 'give' and 'take' – trivalent, governing a Subject of the action, with two Objects – what is given or taken, and who it is given to or taken from;

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[6] typical derivative verb predicates here have a second element 在, and can either only mean 'be somewhere' and have just two-arguments, like *sleep on* (睡在), *sit on* (坐在), *lie on* (躺在), or can also form the three-argument construction №11 'move smth somewhere': *I stopped the car at the back.* (我把车子停在后面) (see Alexiev 2016).

10. Verbs with type meanings 'call A – B', 'change A into B', – trivalent, with a Subject of the action, and two Objects – a prepositive A and a postpositive B.
11. Verbs with type meanings 'place, move smth somewhere', – trivalent, with a Subject of the movement, and two complements – a prepositive Object and a postpositive Location.
12. Verbs with type meanings 'connect A with B' or 'separate A from B' – trivalent, with a Subject and two prepositive Objects of the action;
13. Verbs with type meanings of activity (action, not directed at an object) – bivalent, with a prepositive Subject, controlling the situation.
14. Verbs which introduce information – bivalent, with a prepositive Subject of the action, and an Object of the information, represented by a predicative construction;
15. Verb *yŏu* 'is, has' (有) – bivalent, with prepositive element of Location or Possessor, and a Subject of existence.

Every type of predicate forms a specific **elementary predicative construction[7].** Each predicative construction differs from the other with the specific number, type meaning and word order of its **compulsory and facultative elements.**

Chu-Ren Huang, Shu-Kai Hsieh, and Keh-Jiann Chen conduct a computer analysis of tens of millions of words for a major part of speech study, and separate eight main word classes – verbs, adjectives, nouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections (Huang, Hsieh & Chen 2017)[8]. Classes subdivide into subclasses according to their meaning and syntactic functions of words except adjectives[9] and interjections. Verbs (predicates) are

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[7] Elementary predicative construction is a "word combination, which consists of a core-predicate of a certain semantic type and its dependent elements (actants, optimal surrounding, arguments), which are determined by its type semantics – its formal and semantic valency" (Nikitina 2006: 4).

[8] A research project for the Chinese Knowledge and Information Processing group (CKIP) at Academia Sinica in Taiwan.

[9] Adjectives in the Taiwanese study are considered only compound words with a meaning of stative property, incapable of functioning as a predicate, not combining with the degree adverbs, functioning as noun modifiers (*yěshēng* 'wild' (野生), some with an optional adverbial meaning (*yŏngjiŭ* 'permanent/ly' (永久).

divided into two big groups: action verbs and stative verbs[10]. Each of them is divided into several subclasses:

- intransitive activity verbs, quasi-transitive activity verbs, activity transitive verbs, di-transitive verbs, sentential object verbs, verb-phrase object verbs;
- state intransitive verbs, state quasi-transitive verbs, state transitive verbs, state sentential-object verbs, stative VP-object verbs;

A small third group of so called "classificatory or sortive verbs" is also singled out. The third group of verbs form a separate class, not subjected to further levels of subdivision, in contrast to the other two groups. The three groups form a complex and elaborate system of constructions with respective number, position and semantic roles of arguments, as well as transformation capabilities of every specific subclass (see figure below) (Huang, Hsieh & Chen 2017:118):
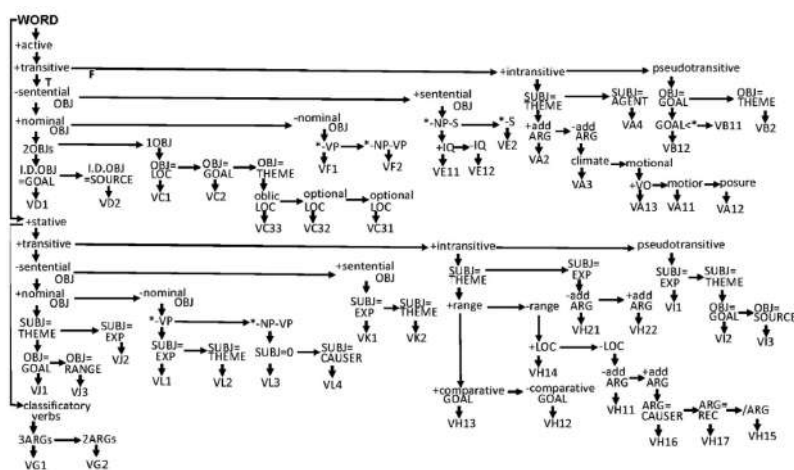
An optimal system of predicates in a Chinese dependency grammar textbook would ideally consist of a minimized number of basic constructions, like Tamara Nikitina's (2006), derived from

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[10] The mass of words, which are traditionally considered as adjectives in Chinese, defined by their abilities to combine semantically with degree adverbs and their meanings for qualitative, quantitative or other properties, are put in this study into one category with the stative verbs, because they are used as sentence predicates.

extensive inductive reasoning of verb use, drawing conclusions from observations in large-scale computer based studies, like the one performed by Huang, Hsieh and Chen (2017).

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Semantic-Pragmatic Approach to the Functioning of Modal Particles in Modern Chinese

Antonia Tsankova

Abstract

The paper proposes a model of functioning of the sentence-final particles in Modern Chinese, based on the study of the particle ne 呢. Applying a semantic-pragmatic approach, the model defines a system of possible functions on syntactic level, exploring the variants of realization of the core semantics of ne 呢 in assertive, exclamatory and interrogative sentences. On discourse level, we outline the range of attitudinal implications that are actualized within the situation of speech and usually supported by relevant prosodic modulations. Such an approach may serve as a basis of a more profound and systematic research to accommodate the vast variety of grammatical, modal, stylistic and pragmatic interpretations of the sentence-final particles.

Keywords: sentence-final particles, modality, core semantics, pragmatic functions.

Sentence-final particles in Modern Chinese, such as *a/ya* 啊/呀, *ba* 吧, *ne/na* 呢/呐, *ma* 嘛 etc., are predominantly of modal semantic nature, used generally to express a variety of subjective and attitudinal qualities of the utterance. Some of the particles may have other specific functions, such as marking interrogation (*ma* 吗), aspect-tense relations, discourse marking (sentence-final *le* 了), etc.

Applying only a syntactic-semantic approach in researching the usage of these particles proves to be insufficient to account for the entire range of subsequent and sometimes controversial meanings that they may imply in the sentence (Chu 1998). On the other hand, the subtle semantic differences between some of the particles, when attached alternately to sentences of identical contents cannot be properly interpreted without considering the communicative and pragmatic aspects of the discourse.

In terms of characterizing the most commonly used sentence-final particles, there are various definitions, proposed in linguistic studies

so far. Thus, *ba* 吧 has been assigned the properties of "advisative particle" (Chao 1968: 807), marker of "soliciting approval/ agreement" (Li, Thompson 1981: 307-308), or "suggestive particle" (Chu 1998: 120); the functions of *ne/na* 呢/呐 have been defined as marking "mild warning", "assertion of equalling degree", "interest in additional information", "questions in a context", "deliberate pause", "continuous state" etc. (Chao 1968: 801–802). The interpretations of the other particles in different studies and textbooks of Chinese, as cited by Chu (1998), are even more diverse and sometimes conflicting in semantic range.

The sentence-final particles may produce such a vast variety of possible interpretations mainly because the function words in Modern Chinese generally do not bear fixed and finite functional meaning by themselves, but they can produce various possible readings only in the process of interaction of their inherent semantic potential with the semantic, syntactic, modal and pragmatic properties of the utterance. The sentence-final particles are even more complex and variable in semantic content than other function words. The existence of multiple differing definitions for each particle, which are sometimes incompatible in meaning, arise in the cases when the particles are labelled with the final modal or communicative reading of the phrase, while such interpretations may be motivated or influenced by other relevant contextual or pragmatic factors. Thus, defining the properties of the modal particles directly by the resultant interpretation of the phrase, may be sometimes confusing or misleading for their systematic research. On the other hand, in the traditional structural grammars the particles are described only within the limits of the sentence, while in actual usage they acquire diverse functions that can be properly understood only by considering the relevant pragmatic factors within the discourse.

The semantic-pragmatic approach to the study of function words in Chinese, presented in recent reference grammars, assumes the existence of a core semantic meaning, or inherent semantic content, which is invariably present in all the possible variants of usage and thus is contextually and pragmatically independent. On this basis, the large number of subsequent meanings can be derived from the interaction of the core semantic content with the relevant parameters

of the context and the situation of speech. There are some points of linguistic debate about the adequate methodology of distinguishing between the invariant semantic content and the contextually determined meanings (Tan 2002; Ljungqvist 2003; Li, Thompson 1981; Chu 1998; Depraetere 2010, etc.). On this basis, there may be differences in formulating the core semantic meaning of the sentence-final particles, especially when taking into account the complex and sometimes ambiguous semantic nature of the modal categories.

In general, as Depraetere (2010) has summarized, there are two main points of view on the semantics of the modals. The monosemic approach assumes that modal function words have an invariant core meaning that is present in all cases of usage, whereas the differences in interpretation are attributed to pragmatic interaction. The polysemic approach states that the different meanings expressed by the modals are sufficiently independent and thus they are viewed as polysemous. Some linguists maintain that the modals should not be treated uniformly, and it is more appropriate to adopt a differentiated approach assuming that some modals are more monosemous/ polysemous than others (Timotejevič 2008, cited by Depraetere 2010). Apart from that, other approaches have been proposed that view the functions of the modals or sentence-final particles on different levels. Chu (1998: 121–185) analyses the functioning of the sentence-final particles on three possible levels: (1) semantico-syntactic, (2) modality and (3) discourse, and identifies a core function for each of the particles on a certain level. The author also concludes that as far as some of the particles have functions on different levels, these functions may interact or overlap to produce complications and ambiguity in interpretation.

In the recent study of modals, Depraetere (2010: 72–84) puts forward a framework with potential layers of modal meaning, including: (1) Semantic core (context-independent semantics, or encoded meaning); (2) Context-dependent semantics; (3) Pragmatic meaning. The proposed framework is generalized, with "potential layers of meaning, which are not necessarily realized by or relevant to every individual modal" (Depraetere 2010: 78).

Within the confines of the present article we will not be able to discuss in detail the arguments on this topic; our task would rather

be to highlight the keystones that constitute a model for systematic research and description of the sentence-final particles. Applying the semantic-pragmatic approach, we will take one of the most commonly used particles, i.e. the particle *ne* 呢, as an example for structuring a system of meanings, functions and implications, that can be generally adapted to all the other particle of this type.

In reference studies on Chinese grammar there are different definitions of the core function(s) of the particle *ne* 呢. Li and Thompson (1981: 300–307) formulate two main functions of the particle, namely "response to expectation" and "question marking"; Alleton (1981, as cited by Chu 1998: 160–163) suggests that the particle is used to appeal "to the listener's active participation" and this function is actualized under three intonation categories: interrogative, suspensive and assertive intonation; Chu (1998) proposes a unified treatment of *ne* 呢 to accommodate its divergent meanings, and it is summarized as a notion of "relevance"; its main function is defined as inter-clausal linking on the discourse level. Our study of all types of usage of the particle *ne* 呢 proved that its function to signal a certain degree of relevance to the actual state of affairs is consistent in all the instances and may be adopted as a core function of the particle. Other proposed notions do not seem to be as adequate as core semantics, because they are not always compatible with certain meanings of the utterance within the context.

Accepting the notion of relevance proposed by Chu (1998) as a semantic core, we will try to build a general model of functioning of the particle *ne/na* 呢/呐, considering different paths of realization of its functional semantics on syntactic/contextual and pragmatic level.

1. **In assertive sentences** *ne* 呢 generally signals that the speaker presents the information as (more) relevant, or contributing to the current situation. In this sense, depending on contextual and discourse factors, there may be a different degree of actualization of relevance, or deviation of the statement from the listener's position.

1.1. In cases when the speaker must provide some additional information, which is not yet considered by the hearer or turns out to be an unexpected finding even to the speaker, the usage of *ne* 呢 signals the "update" of the relevant information, e.g.:

(1) 他们家有游泳池呢。 (Zheng et al. 2004: 196)
(Listen), they have a swimming pool in their house.

(2) 他们还卖古琴呐。 (Chao 1968: 806)
They are even selling ancient zither (among other exotic things).

This kind of usage is defined by Li and Thompson as "response to expectation". As they point out, it can be applied in various speech contexts, acquiring different shades of modality and illocutionary force (Li and Thompson 1981: 301). For example, sentence (1) may be used in a context as a response to one's statement that their family is quite rich, and thus providing some additional, and more forceful argument on the topic (exceeding expectations). The same sentence may as well be used as a response to a contrary statement that their family is not so rich, and thus (1) would be interpreted as correcting one's assumption (contrary to expectations). The whole spectrum of attitudinal nuances is actualized in the context and the situation of speech, also supported by relevant modulations in the intonation. In such conditions the usage of *ne* 呢 is necessary to mark the shift in relevance in the opinion of the speaker, while an unmarked phrase would be neutral in terms of attitudinal effect and thus would be communicatively inadequate (Li and Thompson 1981: 301).

1.2. The particle may be used to mark a progressive event or a current situation in the time of reference. This specific aspect-tense meaning is sometimes considered as a separate, independent core function of *ne* 呢. We agree with Chu (1998) that it can be subsumed under the notion of "relevance", presenting the event as relevant to the reference time. In such phrases the particle is often used in combination with the durative/progressive indicators *zheng* 正, *zai* 在, *zhengzai* 正在 or the verbal suffix *zhe* 着, but it can also function without them (examples from Zheng et al. 2004: 190-192).

(3) 外头下雪呢。 It's snowing outside.

(4) 这个问题解决好了吗? Is the question solved already?
他们正商量着呢。 They're just discussing it (at the moment).

The negative variants of such phrases are formed with *mei* 没 or *hai mei* 还没, and they are used to imply that the action or state was

supposed to take place (but it hasn't), or it is expected to take place soon. Examples:

(5) 他没给我打电话呢。　He hasn't called me (yet; but he was expected to).

In durative phrases with *ne* 呢　the meaning "response to expectation" may also be expressed to some extent, depending on the speech situation, e.g. when the speaker presents an argument on the current situation, different from the expectations. For example, a background context for such a functional overlapping for sentence (3) would be a suggestion to go out for a walk, where the answer (3) would express a relevant update about the current situation which can be interpreted as '(But) it's snowing outside.'

Thus, depending on the actual speech situation, in assertive sentences *ne* 呢　can express its three main semantic features of "response to expectation", "providing additional information" and "current event/state" either separately or combined, with different possible degree of deviation from the point of view of the speaker, which can result in various shades of attitudinal implications, such as reminder, additional remark, insistence, irritation, etc.

1.3. In general, phrases containing *ne* 呢　are used to highlight the relevant information given by the speaker and usually serve as a *response* to a previous statement, question, expectations, etc. They can also be used to mark the logical connection (reason, explanation etc.) to the preceding or the following context. This type of function on pragmatic level has been considered as "inter-clausal linking" (Chu 1998). Example:

(6) 你爸爸看书呢，别打搅他。 (Zheng et al. 2004: 201)
Your father is reading (now), (that's why) you must not disturb him.

(7) 小点儿声，素素在这儿睡觉呢。　(Zheng et al. 2004: 201)
Please, be quieter (because) Susu is sleeping here.

1.4. The function of *ne* 呢　to highlight the relevant information has another specific implication, which is to draw the listener's attention to certain parts of the utterance, and not to the entire sentence. In such conditions, *ne* 呢　is used as a "pause particle" to

highlight particular words or phrases as a topic of importance, result, condition, etc. Examples:

(8) 你走好了，我呢，你就不用管了。(Liu et al. 2006: 442)
You'd better go now, as for me, you don't have to bother.

(9) 你要是不喜欢呢，我们再找地方吧。
If you don't like it (here), let's look for another place.

2. The particle *ne* 呢 is often used in emphatic constructions in common combinations like *you…ne* 有…呢, *hai…ne* 还…呢, *cai…ne* 才…呢, *ke…ne* 可…呢, which sometimes appear **in exclamatory sentences**. Examples:

(10) 孩子们听到了这个消息，可高兴呢！(Liu et al. 2006: 421)
When the children heard the news, they were so happy!

In such phrases a stronger logical stress is put on the words that are object of emphasis.

3. Many descriptions of *ne* 呢 start with its usage **in interrogative sentences**, and this is probably the most typical usage of the particle. It should be mentioned that in general the particle *ne* 呢 does not express interrogative meaning by itself, because it is usually attached to sentences in which the question is expressed by other means. The only exception to this principle are nominal phrases marked with *ne* 呢 to express a specific type of abbreviated question in a context, meaning "What about…?" or "Where is…?" (ex. 16 and 18).

3.1. The particle *ne* 呢 can be used in sentences with interrogative pronouns, such as *shui/shei* 谁 'who', *shenme* 什么 'what', *na* 哪 'which', *weishenme* 为什么 'why', *zenme* 怎么 'how', etc. (ex. 11). The particle can also be used in alternative questions of the type V–不–V or with the interrogative conjunction *haishi* 还是 (ex. 12 and 13).

In such usage it is usually assumed that *ne* 呢 contributes on modal level to softening the tone of the question and implies a mood of empathy and concern, or soliciting agreement in alternative questions. In such questions the usage of *ne* 呢 is optional, it is employed to express only the additional modal nuances mentioned above. Examples:

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(11) 你想买什么呢？　　　(Well,) what do you want to buy?

(12) 他们今天参加不参加比赛呢？
(Well,) are they going to take part in the competition today?

(13) 咱们是去颐和园呢，还是去北海呢　(Liu et al. 2006: 420)
(Well,) are we going to Yiheyuan or shall we go to Beihai?

3.2. The particle *ne* 呢 can be used in rhetorical questions to express also relevance and involvement, contributing to softening the tone of the question and addressing the hearer more directly. Examples:

(14) 事已到此，说这些又有什么用呢？ (Liu et al. 2006: 420)
This is all finished, what's the use of saying all these things?

(15) 这么不重要的事情，你何必这么计较呢？
Such an insignificant matter, why should you care so much?

3.3. The particle *ne* 呢 has a specific usage, marking nominal phrases to express interrogative meaning on a given background. Such expressions are used to shift the question (usually with analogical content) as relevant to another object. For example:

(16) 他想学习市场营销专业，你呢？
He wants to study marketing major, what about you? (Do you also want to study marketing major?)

This type of questions with nominals can be used to address an object without background context, but the object is definite and known to the speaker and the hearer. Thus such questions are usually interpreted as „Where is...?" or „What about...?"

(17) 饭呢？　　(Where is) the meal?
　　做着呢。 (It's) being cooked. (ex. from Alleton 1981, cited by Chu 1998: 162).

(18) 后来呢？ (And) after that? (i.e. 'What happened afterwards?')

3.4. Questions with *ne* 呢 may contain new information as a response to some statement and they can express conditional relations. This type of usage may be considered as an elliptic variant of conditionals marked with *ne* 呢 (as in ex. 9), in which the

interrogative meaning is implicitly conveyed by the intonation (with a rising pitch tone).

(19) 好吧。我们就把它卖了。　　O.K. We'll sell it.
　　有人不同意呢？　　　　(What if) somebody doesn't agree?
　　　　　　　　　　　　(Chu 1998: 174)

This sentence is interpreted as "要是有人不同意，该怎么办呢？" 'If somebody doesn't agree, what shall we do then?'

In fact, the same phrase (有人不同意呢), pronounced with assertive intonation, may be interpreted as "response to expectation" or "providing additional information/argument" (as in ex. 1, 2, 6, 7), and as Chu (1998: 174) has pointed out, it may function as a report, hint of possibility, warning, or even a threat when the subject of the phrase is in the first person (*wo* 我 'I' or *women* 我们 'we').

Conclusions

The whole spectrum of possible functions and modal implications of the particle *ne* 呢 can be systemized by tracing the variants of interaction of its core semantics with factors on syntactic/contextual, prosodic and pragmatic level. Our analysis has proven that the different modal values ascribed to the particle are not inherent in its semantic/functional content, but they are actualized within the context and the situation of speech on pragmatic level, because one and the same sentence (on syntactic level) may have various, and sometimes controversial interpretations depending on pragmatic factors. The different functional and modal meanings of the particle can sometimes overlap or interact with each other to produce more complex interpretations, and in many cases the reading of the utterance may be ambiguous or vague if it is not viewed in actual speech situation. The particle may also serve an inter-sentential function to mark the relations (condition, reasoning, relevance) between clauses within the discourse.

In this study we have only outlined the main points of a pragmatic model to define the functioning of the particle *ne* 呢. A further detailed research is needed to distinguish all the variants of implication in speech, as well as to explore the possibility to apply a

general framework to the study of sentence-final particles in Modern Chinese.

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The Methods of Cultivation of Chinese Pragmatic Competence in Bulgarian College Students

He Juling

Abstract

Pragmatic competence is an important measure of the effectiveness of Chinese teaching and is also a decisive factor in the strength of intercultural communication. In this paper, three cultivating methods are proposed for Chinese pragmatic competence in Bulgarian college students: integrating pragmatic competence into language culture teaching, enhancing the construction of extra-curricular contexts, and integrating pragmatic competence assessment into the evaluation system.

Keywords: pragmatic competence, intercultural communication, context, evaluation system

语用能力是跨文化交际成功与否的决定因素。简单说来，语用能力就是根据特定语境正确使用语言的能力。这种能力包括三个方面：识别语境、准确理解他人、得体表达自己。语用能力，尤其是跨文化语用能力，不仅是对外汉语教学效果的一个重要衡量指标，同时也是决定跨文化交际能力强弱的一个重要因素。保加利亚是开展汉语教学比较早、教学经验比较丰富的国家，本文针对保加利亚大学生汉语语用能力的培养方法，进行分析探讨。

1. 革新教学方法，将语用能力培养融入语言文化教学中

传统的教学方法相对重视语言能力的培养而忽略语用能力的培养，导致学生虽然具备了一定的语言能力，但在跨文化交际中仍然会出现这样那样的语用失误。他们会说出这样的答话：

（老师）"汤姆，来尝尝月饼吧。"（学生）："我不想吃。"

这便是拒绝方式的不当，虽然句子并没有语法错误。由此可见，语用能力的培养应当引起汉语教师的足够重视，最好的方法就是将语用能力的培养融入到语言文化的教学中去。

1.1 选择更为实用的跨文化汉语教材

目前的对外汉语教材存在这样几个问题：教材中的语用信息太少；缺乏对语用知识的显性讨论；例句多依靠编写者的直觉与经验，并非真实的话语。鉴于这种情况，我们认为首先要从教材开始改变。

例如听力教材，不仅要选择那些标准的、正规的汉语语音材料，也要适当涉及不同的语言变体，如中国北方、南方人说的带不同口音的汉语，以及不同年龄、性别、职业、背景的中国人所说的汉语。这样一来，学生从一开始就能感受到活生生的语言是什么样的，并且渐渐适应各种不同的语音变体。他们会觉得课堂所听的东西与真正生活中的东西差距很小，而不会有乍听中国人说话时的生疏感。再如在词汇教学中，教师不仅要讲解一个词的词性、语法搭配、语法功能，还应该介绍词语的文化内涵，也就是常说的情景教学法。比如词语的褒义、贬义，以及语体色彩、特殊含义等。例如"随便"这个词，对应的不仅仅是"It's up to you."还可能有生气、轻松、随意等语气。即通过"向学生分析词汇的不同文化内涵，以拓宽学生的视野，丰富学生的文化知识。"[1]这样才能教会学生根据不同的语境来选择正确的词语。

再如听说课，最好选择那些涵盖面广、贴近生活的对话，可以借助网络，从视频、影视剧中选取反映中国现实、体现中国文化的视听材料，拉近学生与现实中国的距离。还有写作课，除了教会学生写作技巧，还应该和学生一起找出自己以及其他学生作文中的错误，尤其是那些不属于语言错误的语用失误，分析造成这些错误的原因所在，并进行自我和平辈评估，进而总结经验，尽力减少以后写作中的语用失误。总之，无论哪种形式的教材，都应尽量模拟或还原现实场景，以取得最佳的课堂语境教学效果。

1.2 通过语用任务和社交模式开展课堂实践活动

除了选择更为合适的跨文化教材，课堂教学的方式也应该适当改变。以往的汉语教学往往显得有些一本正经，教师在讲台上讲，学生在下面听，一方面不能发挥学生学习的主动积极性，课堂气氛死板沉闷；另一方面也很少将交际实践引入课堂，造成了语言知识和实践活动的脱节。鉴于此种情况，可以

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[1]　（谢元才 2006:36）

适当改变教学方式，借助网络多媒体有意识、有计划地把语言使用的社会文化要素纳入课堂教学，让学习者接触大量用于不同语境和场合的言语行为，比如通过语用任务和社交模拟的形式在课堂开展实践活动。具体说来，可以使用显性语用教学的四个步骤，即提供元语用信息——提供真实语境——提供交际机会——提供纠正性反馈来进行课堂教学[2]。

例如讲授"请求"这种言语行为，可以先告诉学生句类可以实现间接言语行为，即以一类施为行为来达到另一类施为行为预期达到的目的。如："屋里真冷。""屋里真冷啊！" "你不觉得冷吗？" 三个句子分别是肯定句、感叹句、疑问句，但都能达到"你把窗户关上"这个祈使句的功能。然后，创造真实语境让学生通过角色扮演体会不同的句类、语气带给对方的不同的感觉。还可以让学生通过小组讨论学习汉语不同的语气助词"啊" "吗"等的微妙意义，以及它们在不同语境中的语用功能。最后，教师对学生的理解予以明确清晰的纠正总结。

此外，口语课可以尝试讲故事的方式。选择一些与中国历史、文化相关的故事，像"孔融让梨"、"盲人摸象"、"守株待兔"、"兄弟射雁"等都是很好的素材，通过学生的讲述，不仅让他们掌握直接引语、间接引语之间的相互转换，更可以了解故事背后的中国文化内涵，增加课堂的趣味性。听说课上，看电影是一种较为直接生动的教学方式，教师提前准备一些难度适合又能反映中国历史、文化、国情的影片，播放给学生，可以采取片段播放，再提示讨论的方式进行课堂教学。这样一来，不仅可以扩展课堂教学的范围，也有利于激发学习者语言学习和交际的兴趣，更好地培养并提高他们的汉语语用能力。

2. 加强课外语境建设，提升学生的跨文化敏感度

在跨文化交际中，语用失误是指 "the inability to understand what is meant by what it is said",即不能理解别人话语的含义[3]。语用失误产生的原因是学习者对另一方社会知识缺乏，由于思维方式、价值观念、社交礼貌等层面的文化负迁移，从而产生了一系列说话方式或行为习惯的不当甚至冲突[4]。要想减少这种语用失误，做到更为有效的跨文化交际，就需要提升学生的跨

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[2] (戴炜栋，杨仙菊2005：5)

[3] (Thomas 1983:91—111)

[4] (莫艳萍2016:52)

文化敏感度，增强他们的跨文化交际意识，进而提高他们的语用能力。

2.1 通过汉语报刊、杂志、画册、讲座等了解表面文化特征

语境对跨文化交际语用能力来讲至关重要，对保加利亚大学生来说，在保国这样的语言学习环境中，仅依靠课堂实践活动来创造汉语语境是远远不够的。还应该有意识地增强课外语境建设，这样才能与课堂中的语境相结合，更有效地培养学生的语境意识。除教科书外，可以通过汉语报刊、杂志、画册等方式帮助学生了解表面中国文化特征。汉语杂志、刊物和画册都是直观的语境材料，像旅游刊物、摄影杂志、服饰画册等，比起教科书上的知识介绍，趣味性强得多，又比较贴切中国社会文化生活，更容易引起学生的兴趣，他们可以通过这些材料了解一些表面的中国文化特征。另外，邀请一些著名中国学者做汉语讲座，也是不错的方法。通过一些汉语专题讲座，比如"汉字文化"、"汉字历史"、"中国民俗"、"中国教育"等，可以使学生对中国的文化产生直接的印象，也有利于提升他们的文化敏感度。

2.2 通过多种方式创造动态汉语语境

语用能力实际上是一种在动态中保持交际顺利进行的能力。这就需要尽力创造真实、动态的汉语语境，从而有效提高学生的语境意识和识别能力。正如Matsuda所提到过的，提高学生的语用意识比简单地教学生一些语用模式更有效。除了课堂实践活动外，还可以采取汉语角、师生联谊会、郊游、购物、就餐、影视表演、语言在线练习工具、网络交流软件等方式，营造出多种现实语境，真正将文化和语用结合起来，做到学以致用。

例如课堂上讲了"购物"、"就餐"，课后可以带学生去商场购物或餐厅就餐，进行实践。这样不仅巩固强化了课堂所学的语言知识，还会在实际交际过程中锻炼学生的跨文化语用能力。再如汉语角，可以提前安排好每一次的主题，例如"友谊"，大家可以围绕这个主题进行交流。这样的语境氛围轻松随意，不像课堂那样拘束。通过交流，学生不仅可以知道自己语言能力上的缺陷，还能发现中保两种文化中对友情的不同看法。再如影视表演，对学生的语言表达能力、语境理解能力、表演才能都是一种锻炼。教师可以和学生一起选择一些长短适中、难度

适宜的影视作品，先让学生提前自己理解，有问题询问教师；然后在教师的指导下分角色进行排练、表演，最后再由教师进行点评，指出学生的不足。这样不仅能极大地调动学生学习汉语的积极性，还可以让学生在角色中体会汉语的魅力和中国文化内涵。还有，可以借助网络的便利利用语言在线工具让学生在线练习汉语，或者利用中国人常用的网络交流软件如微信（we-chant）进行实际语境的跨文化交流。总之，所有这些方式的目的都是在课外创造一种真实、动态的汉语语境，让学生们能够积极顺应现实语境，固话、延伸课堂语用教学的效果。

3.将语用能力的考查纳入评价体系

和中国的语言教学考核方式类似，保加利亚汉语专业学生的考核方式也是传统的语言能力测试。要想更好地培养保加利亚大学生的汉语语用能力，就应将语用能力的考察纳入评价体系，也就是是说，在学分考核中，不仅应该考核学生听力、阅读、语法、写作等方面的语言能力，还应该考察学生的语用能力

如何考察学生的汉语语用能力呢？大家知道，语用能力包括语用知识、语用表现、语用意识三部分，这也是衡量语用能力的三项分指标。单独地对这几项指标进行考察并不科学，因为这三项指标常常是综合体现的。那么，可以将语用能力的考察与听力、阅读、口语甚至写作的考察结合起来，在这些语言技能的考察中加入语用成分。以口语为例，可以设置一个具体的情境如餐厅就餐或者就职面试，让学生在规定语境下完成汉语跨文化交际，这样既能考察学生课堂所学的语言知识，也能考察学生在真实语境中的跨文化语用能力。再如写作，可以让学生给自己的中国老师、或者朋友写一封感谢信，同样既可以考察写作技能，也可以考察学生汉语书面语用能力。所有这些考核，其实都显示了学生们言语行为的内部调节能力，即在遣词造句上所进行的语句内部的细微调整。而内部调节的手段如插入语的使用"您觉得"、"您看"，缓解套话"顺便"、"话说回来"，附加疑问词"好吗"、"可以吗"，以及各种语气词的使用等，是外国学生包括保加利亚学生进行跨文化交际时主要的困难所在。因此，通过融合在语言技能考试中的语用表现来判断学生语用意识的强弱和语用知识的掌握程度，是一种非常有效的考察办法。

4.结语

　　保加利亚有悠久的汉语教学历史，但以往的汉语教学主要致力于语言知识的教学，对跨文化语用能力关注较少。本文在丰富的对外汉语教学经验的基础上，针对保加利亚大学生跨文化汉语语用能力，提出了三个培养方法：首先革新教学方法，将语用能力的培养融入语言文化教学中，包括选择更实用的跨文化汉语教材，以及开展形式多样的课堂实践活动；其次是加强课外语境建设，提升学生的跨文化敏感度，包括了解表面中国文化特征，以及通过汉语角、联谊会、郊游、购物就餐、影视表演、语言在线练习工具、网络交流软件等多种方式创造动态汉语语境；最后是要将语用能力的考核纳入评价体系。这些探讨，都是从跨文化交际的角度出发，以期对保加利亚大学生语用能力的培养提供一些思路和方法。

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The Language Planner Wei Jiangong 魏建功 (1901–1980) Between Nationalism and Class Struggle

Mariana Münning

Abstract

This paper presents Wei Jiangong's 魏建功 (1901–1980) main achievements in Chinese language planning in the 20th century. His involvement in the promotion of the national language (guoyu 國語) during Republican times and in the simplification of the Chinese characters (Hanzi jianhua 汉字简化) during the People's Republic (PRC) is seen against the backdrop of his linguistic research. It is argued that his concept of language as a tool for oral communication is the nucleus of all his endeavors. This concept justifies reform: If spoken or written language do not serve effective communication, they can be altered.

Wei Jiangong's language concept, which was realized in the reforms he took part in, was based on thorough traditional philological as well as modern linguistic research. Under the different political systems in the Republic and PRC, Wei Jiangong framed this concept differently. He employed nationalist rhetoric during the Republic and class struggle rhetoric in the PRC. This is especially evident in his promotion of guoyu in Taiwan 1946–48, which had just been "returned" to the ROC after Japanese colonial rule. Wei's legitimization of the national language stressed the historical, geographical and linguistic continuity and coherence of China.

In contrast, his legitimization of the simplified script in the 1950s criticized and overcome hierarchies. In Wei's eyes, the historic shorthand characters that were introduced in the reform were produced by the working people, while the ruling classes insisted on the legitimacy of the traditional characters to disenfranchise the ordinary people and thus create illiteracy among them. In both periods, however, Wei Jiangong's focus lay on the pronunciation. He not only emphasized that a standardized national language is foremost characterized by a standard pronunciation, but he also saw the pronunciation (and not the shape) of a character as the key to its meaning. Thus, Wei Jiangong conceptualized the spoken word as primary and the written word as secondary embodiment of meaning.

Keywords: language planning, linguistics, 20th century China, national language (guoyu), script reform (wenzi gaige)

The language planner Wei Jiangong 魏建功 (1901–1980) was involved in the two most important events in language planning in China in the 20th Century: the promotion of the "national language" *guoyu* 國語 during the Republic of China (ROC) on the Mainland and in Taiwan, and the simplification of the Chinese script in the People's Republic (PRC). He was also a distinguished linguist, specializing in historical phonology, and a lexicographer, who chiefly compiled the first edition of the famous "New China Dictionary" (*Xinhua Zidian* 新华字典, 1953).

Born in Nantong 南通, Jiangsu 江蘇 Province, in 1901, he entered Peking University in 1919, and participated in the "New Culture Movement" (*Xin wenhua yundong* 新文化運動) of the time. In the 1920s, he joined his Peking University teachers, Qian Xuantong 錢玄同 (1887–1939) and Li Jinxi 黎錦熙 (1890–1978) in the "National Language Movement" (*Guoyu yundong* 國語運動). Building up on the "Vernacular literature movement" (*baihuawen yundong* 白話文運動), the National language movement strove for a "Congruency of language and script" (*yan-wen yizhi* 言文一致) and "unification of the national speech" (*guoyu tongyi* 國語統一). As in the early 20th century "Classical Chinese" *wenyanwen* 文言文 was still the mode of expression with prestige (the language situation is often described as "diglossic", compare: Ferguson 1959) and the problem of widespread illiteracy was addressed, Wei Jiangong's and many other scholars' ambitions to promote a unified national language that would exist in spoken and in written form went hand-in-hand with numerous commoners' and women's education projects for achieving universal education.

While still a student at Peking University, Wei Jiangong participated in the extensive debates about the possibilities of language and script reform, especially by contributing to the many magazines flourishing in the May 4th period and thereafter. In 1925 (his graduation year) and 1926, he already formulated his basic concept of language that would remain unchanged throughout his life. He saw language as a set of signs used by people to communicate, and written signs as symbols of the spoken language. In this utilitarian language concept of Wei Jiangong, language and script can be reformed in order to serve their aim of facilitating

communication. In this communication, nobody should be left out, he saw no use for a classical language that the less educated could not understand – he regarded this as inhumane. The primary manifestation of language was, for Wei Jiangong, always the spoken language, and the script was a mere graphical representation of the spoken word. Therefore, the script could be reformed, too (Wei 1925, Wei 1926 and Wei 2001a). It is to be noted that although Wei's understanding of language as a "sign" or "symbol" (*fuhao* 符號) seems similar to Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotics, it has been argued that Saussure was only adopted in China in the 1930s (Zhang and Zhang 2014).

Apart from the fact that the political circumstances during the first half of the century made it difficult for educators to achieve a wide impact on society, the agreement on a pronunciation standard for the national language also encompassed certain challenges. First, a national pronunciation was adopted that was a mix of several types of Mandarin, but this "old national pronunciation" (*lao guoyin* 老國音) came to be discarded as "blue-green Mandarin" (*lan-qing guanhua* 藍青官話) and replaced by a "new national pronunciation" (*xin guoyin* 新國音) based on the Beijing dialect, which was only gradually accepted from the 1930s onwards (Simmons 2017). When the Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan ended in 1945 and the government strove to incorporate the island into the ROC, Wei Jiangong was dispatched to Taiwan to promote the national language, and he stayed there from 1946 to 1948.

While the national language movement in the 1920s had been a rather iconoclastic movement, struggling with authorities from the warlord government (1916–28), then going through a phase of consolidation during the Nanjing Decade, and then again disunity because of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) during which many intellectuals retreated from Beijing to find refuge in the South-West of China, the promotion of *guoyu* in Taiwan had a very different attire. It was not the individual effort of some revolutionary intellectuals who wanted the less educated to be able to partake in the discourse. Instead, it was an important part of the official policy of the Guomindang (國民黨 GMD) aimed at decolonizing and reintegrating Taiwan into China. It is to be noted that the Japanese had practiced a policy of assimilation

in the later stage of their colonial rule over Taiwan, which meant that the Taiwanese had been forced to speak Japanese, and Japanese had been considered the "national language" (*kokugo* 國語). Furthermore, the varieties of Chinese spoken in Taiwan at that time, belonging to the Minnan 閩南 dialects, had also converged to what came to be called "Taiwanese" (*taiyu*, *tai-gi* 台語). This homogenization is said to have happened especially because of the confrontation with the Japanese colonial policies (Klöter 2009: 107f).

Wei Jiangong was appointed head of the Taiwan Provincial National Language Promotion Committee (Taiwansheng guoyu tuixing weiyuanhui 台灣省推行國語委員會) and authored texts, some of which were broadcasted via the radio, to legitimize the promotion of *guoyu*. In this legitimization, he employed nationalist rhetoric and stressed the continuity, coherence and sovereignty of China as one country with one language, of which Taiwan was an integral part.

In order to construct historical continuity, Wei used the concept of a pre-imperial koiné, the "elegant language" (*yayan* 雅言) as proof that China always had a standard language. While the existence of *yayan* is still disputed, Wei Jiangong, like many others who argued in its favor, saw its presence confirmed in a quote from the Analects (*Lunyu* 論語), in which Confucius uses *yayan* when reading the Songs, the Documents or when performing rituals (子所雅言，《詩》、書》、執禮。, *Lunyu* 7.18). This "elegant language" based its pronunciation on the pronunciation of the political capital, and when Beijing became the imperial capital "more than a thousand years" ago, its dialect began to provide the standard pronunciation. As language of communication in the melting pot that Beijing was, "the most convenient and easy" (*zui fangbian rongyi* 最方便容易) pronunciation was chosen, which lead to a koiné that as many speakers as possible could learn (Wei 1946). This economic principle, according to which speakers strive for the lowest articulatory effort, was taken by Wei Jiangong as proof that a national language based on the Beijing dialect was the most advanced and most suitable.

Wei Jiangong was also able to produce evidence for the national coherence of China as a whole, with Taiwan as part of it, from his linguistic research. He presented the fact that Taiwanese and *guoyu* were two related varieties of Chinese as confirmation that Taiwan belonged

to China. He regarded the similarity of grammar, and the fact that both were written with Chinese characters as evidence for their kinship (Wei 1946). It is to be noted that this early promotion of *guoyu* in Taiwan under Wei Jiangong's leadership encouraged the study of Taiwanese as "mother tongue" (*muyu* 母語) and a training in the national language by inferring from it (Wei 1946). The infamous prohibition of speaking dialect in public only started in 1956 (Huang 1993: 108).

The sovereignty of the ROC, including Taiwan, was stressed by Wei Jiangong especially with regard to the colonial past. He made it clear that the term *guoyu* initially denoted the language that the Jurchen, Mongols and Manchus who controlled China called their own language. It is probable that Wei's contemporaries also understood this as an allusion to the Japanese. Wei Jiangong indeed blamed the "enemy" Japan for the heterogeneous language situation between Taiwan and the Mainland, and claimed that the Japanese language "put in disorder" the language structure of *taiyu*. Now, after the ROC was established, *guoyu* came to denote the official standard language of China. He wrote:

> 臺灣光復了以後，推行國語的唯一的意義是"恢復台灣同胞應用祖國語言聲音和組織的自由"!

Since Taiwan was recovered, the only purpose of promoting the national language has been to "restore the freedom of the Taiwanese compatriots to use their nation's language's pronunciation and structure"! (Wei 1946)

In 1948, Wei Jiangong left Taiwan to take up a professorship at Peking University. One reason for his return to Beijing was the beginning of the "White Terror" in Taiwan after the February 28 incident, which lead to the dismissal of the method of learning *guoyu* by deducing from *taiyu* and a general constraint of dialect speaking. The new administration was rather hostile towards the National Language Committee (Cai 2011: 85–6, Huang 2005: 103–4). The second reason was obviously the job offer from his alma mater.

After the PRC was proclaimed in 1949, Wei Jiangong became a member of the Chinese Script Reform Association (*Zhongguo wenzi gaige xiehui* 中國文字改革協會) and subsequently of many other committees and conferences convened on this matter. The simplification of the Chinese script was an endeavor he had already

anticipated in 1925, when he had argued for an abolition of the Chinese characters altogether. In the 1950s, his view on the evolution of writing of that time came into play again. Wei Jiangong argued that the script developed from a graphic representation of meaning towards a phonetic representation, i.e. from pictograms towards a phonetic script (Wei 1925). Now that schemes for a simplification of the script were sought after, Wei Jiangong was able to put this view into practice. One important method of abbreviating the characters was to replace complex semantic segments of characters with simpler segments that clearly indicated the pronunciation of the entire character in the modern standard language (which was now called *putonghua* 普通話). For example: *li* 歷 → 历.

As a philologist with classical training, Wei Jiangong was furthermore also well aware of historical non-standard characters. One main argument in legitimizing the script reform became the "popular" or "vulgar characters" *suzi* 俗字, which, in the 1950s, he interpreted from the perspective of class struggle. Many characters that were introduced as "simplified" were actually *suzi* that had previously already been widely used. They were, for example, also included in the dictionary *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 from Han times, marked as *suzuo* 俗作. However, as Wei Jiangong pointed out, they had not achieved official status, and had acquired a negative connotation. This negative connotation of being "incorrect" (*wu* 誤, and not "correct" *zheng* 正, or "elegant" *ya* 雅, compare *yayan* above), had been, according to Wei Jiangong, imposed on the popular characters by the ruling classes. They had wanted to monopolize the script and had therefore discredited the popular characters. These *suzi*, as Wei Jiangong argued, had been namely created by the working people. By denying the official status of the *suzi*, the ruling elites had made the working masses illiterate (Wei 2001b, Wei 2001c).

Thanks to the PRC script reform, Wei Jiangong explained, the popular characters were lifted to the legitimate status they had deserved earlier. He managed to phrase traditional philological research with class struggle rhetoric to provide a suitable legitimization for the script reform in the PRC.

To conclude, I would like to point out that although Wei Jiangong preserved his basic concept of language, his legitimization of

language and script policies during the ROC and the PRC read very differently. His arguments in both time periods can be juxtaposed, and they represent the respective regime's master narrative. While Wei Jiangong legitimized the standard language in the ROC with the aid of nationalist rhetoric, he employed class struggle rhetoric to legitimize the simplified characters in the PRC. In 1959, looking back at the *guoyu* movement, Wei Jiangong delegitimized the nationalist endeavors by calling the participating intellectuals bourgeois and alienated from the masses (Wei 2001d).

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Polysemy and Grammaticalisation: Domain Transfer in Mandarin and Cantonese

Paul Woods

Abstract

This paper looks at two pairs of Chinese particles, one in Mandarin and another in Cantonese. It uses examples from corpora and other texts, and employs a cognitive linguistic framework to show that derived or non-prototypical functions as grammatical particles entail transfer from the action to the thought domain.

Use of Mandarin le (了) to mark surprise or a negative imperative is portrayed as a chaining from its more central function of showing perfective aspect. While prototypical uses of le mark completed action in the sense that something has changed in the physical domain, surprise and negative imperatives involve change in the thought domain, the conceptual link summarised by the phrase 'something has changed'. The use of ne (呢) to mark abbreviated questions ('What about X?' in English) is likewise a transfer from the action to the thought domain. Prototypical use of ne marks an on-going action, while abbreviated questions involve an on-going thought. Ne forms such as 'Wo de kuzi ne (我的褲子呢)' rely on the continuation of a shared schema rather than an action, a conceptual link summarised as 'something has not changed'.

The Cantonese aspect markers gan (緊) and zo (阻/咗) have evolved from lexical items meaning 'tight' and 'to impede' respectively. For both words there has been little semantic variation since the classical period. Although the process of grammaticalisation is very different from the polysemy described above for the Mandarin particles, I argue that there has been a similar transfer from the action to the conceptual domain. The use of gan to mark the continuous aspect is explored as a direct derivation of its primary meanings of 'tightness' or 'urgency', because these relate to the present. Similarly, zo marks the perfective because its primary meaning of 'blocking' or 'impeding' suggests that an action has ceased.

The common link between the four particles is thus domain transfer from physical to conceptual, which lies behind polysemy and grammaticalisation across languages.

Keywords: Mandarin, Cantonese, polysemy, grammaticalisation, cognitive grammar

1. Intro

This paper looks at the Mandarin particles *le* and *ne* and the Cantonese aspect markers *gan* and *zo*. The Mandarin pair is explored in terms of polysemy, as non-prototypical functions are chained from a central sense by transfer from the experiential to anticipatory domain. Cantonese *gan* and *zo* result from grammaticalisation involving domain transfer from the physical to the conceptual, with profiling of features of the lexical meaning.

2. Cognitive linguistics, polysemy, and grammaticalisation

The unity of the cognitive and linguistic faculties (Langacker 1991) is central to my approach, as are concepts such as prototypicality and transfer between domains. For Langacker (1991) the meanings of morphemes always relate to structures of knowledge or perception linking cognition and language (1991: 3) and grammatical constructions are conceptually significant (1991: 209).

Polysemous linguistic items have distinct but related meanings (Evans & Green 2006: 36), arranged in networks (Langacker 1991: 35) containing prototypical meanings and conceptual extensions from them.

'Grammaticization' (Langacker 1991: 324) is the process by which grammatical particles evolve from lexical items, which may involve transfer from the concrete to abstract domain, or change from 'the specific to the schematic' (Evans & Green 2006: 709).

3. The Mandarin particles *le* (了) and *ne* (呢)

The sources for the Mandarin examples and grammatical explanations were grammar books and the social media platform *Wechat*. I omit tones in romanisation for clarity.

3.1 Mandarin *le*

Li & Thompson's classic grammar introduces *le* as perfective aspect marker and links it with the boundedness of an event (1981: 185). They discuss its non-aspectual functions in terms of a 'currently

relevant state' (1981: 240), but no unifying cognitive model links them.

Examples [1.1] to [1.5] are from Tiee (1986: 96, 231, 104); ASP, MPt, and Pt stand for 'aspect', 'modal particle', and 'particle' respectively. He does not group the different uses of *le* together or mention polysemy.

[1.1] 他走了
       He walk-ASP
       He has gone.

In [1.1] *le* signifies an action complete prior to the time of speaking (Tiee 1986: 96), its standard use as aspect marker. I propose an 'implicit cognitive model' (with apologies to Lakoff 1987) summarised by the phrase 'something has changed', at whose centre *le* denotes a change of state in the physical or experiential domain.

[1.2] 別哭了
       don't cry MPt
       Don't cry.

Tiee believes that in [1.2] *le* shows a 'request' (1986: 232). Yip & Rimmington (2004) agree, but add that it is for an existing situation to be reversed immediately. I claim that such requests require a change of intention in the speaker, the listener, or both. If crying looked likely, then a change is entailed in the *anticipatory domain*. As Chinese is discourse-oriented, 'understanding a sentence requires some work on the reader's or hearer's part, which may involve inference [and] context' (Huang 1984: 531). Thus shared knowledge and expectation about how a situation may unfold are important. Tiee's comment that in [1.3] *le* signifies 'the prospective change of status of an event' (1986: 103) is useful here.

[1.3] 天氣要冷了
       weather be going to cold Pt
       It's going to be cold soon.

For Yip & Rimmington (2004), for whom *le* as particle and aspect marker are distinct, [1.3] is a '*le*-expository sentence', entailing factual changes or the speaker challenging the hearer's expectation. My position is similar to but goes further than their 'reversal' or 'change in circumstances' (2004: 316). Something has changed, but in the speaker's (and possibly listener's) anticipatory domain.

[1.4]   王小姐對你太好了
        Wang Miss to you too good MPt
        Miss Wang has been really nice to you.

In [1.4] *le* marks the end of a statement (Tiee 1986), but there is no obvious reason for the past tense in English. Consider [1.5] from Yip & Rimmington (2004: 319).

[1.5]   (我們)太幸運了。
        We too lucky *le*
        We are really lucky.

This shows that *le* does more than mark the end of a statement and that the situation is not necessarily in the past. Yip & Rimmington (2004) believe that *le* relates to 'the impact of a new situation' on the speaker and note that this usage occurs with hyperbole. Using the notion that 'something has changed', we can site the change within the realm of anticipation: an assertion or belief goes beyond expectations, as suggested by *tai* (*too much*).

Example [1.6] is a change from 'initiative to termination' (Tiee 1986: 103), and note Tiee's assumption of explicit shared knowledge in brackets.

[1.6]   他不來了
        He not come Pt
        He is no longer coming.
        (He said he was coming before.)

Examples [1.7] and [1.8], from *Wechat*, show a little more complexity.

[1.7]　　Z：我出去了，回來再聯繫
　　　　　I out go *le*, return come again connect
　　　　　I am going out [and] [we/I?] will get in touch when I return.

[1.8]　　W：接到了，別着急
　　　　　receive attain *le*, don't be concerned
　　　　　[I] have picked [her] up, don't worry.

　　Z is a mother and W is her daughter. W is about to pick up her sister from the airport. Z knows this but states that she is going out. Z's decision seems like a change in intention and possibly a surprise to W, who was keeping her mother informed. The *le* in [1.7] shows intent, while that in [1.8] marks completion. Both are changes, but in [1.8] an action is complete while in [1.7] there is disjuncture between an original intention shared or thought of as such and Z's new plan. Something has changed in the anticipatory domain.

　　The different usages of *le*, usually categorised as aspect marker, modal particle, and other kinds of particle, form a polysemous network organised by an implicit cognitive model summarised as 'something has changed'. While the prototypical use relates to the experiential domain and completed actions, chainings from this central sense extend into the anticipatory domain and relate to events or situations in the speaker's (and possibly hearer's) mind.

3.2 Mandarin *ne*

　　Li & Thompson introduce *ne* as 'pointing out to the hearer that the information conveyed by the sentence is the speaker's response to some claim, expectation, or belief on the part of the hearer' (1981: 300). For Yip & Rimmington *ne* is appended to 'action-in-progress' sentences to convey 'mild assertion' (1997: 60), as in [2.1]. In such sentences, *zheng* (正) shows that the action is current and *ne* that it is on-going and unchanged.

[2.1]　　他們正休息呢
　　　　　they just rest *ne*
　　　　　They are just having a rest.

In example [2.2], from Yip & Rimmington, *ne* marks 'the continuation aspect' and brings a rhetorical flavour, expressed by their idiomatic 'don't you know' (2004: 105).

[2.2]　外面在下雨呢
　　　　out side LOC fall rain *ne*
　　　　(Don't you know) it's raining [outside]

For Li & Thompson (1981), speaker and hearer share knowledge. This is congruent with a belief that the situation will remain unchanged, otherwise the knowledge would be out of date and thus no longer shared. As with *le*, the discourse-orientation of Chinese is important.

The following examples Yip & Rimmington call 'follow-up queries with ne' (also known as abbreviated questions), referring to 'a given situation or context' by adding *ne* after the item that 'is of concern' (2004: 256).

[2.3]　她喝咖啡。你呢？
　　　　She drink coffee. You *ne*?
　　　　She's having coffee. What about you?

[2.4]　開門吧。鑰匙呢？
　　　　Open door *ba*. Key *ne*?
　　　　Open the door! Where's the key?

[2.5]　真奇怪。我的大衣呢？
　　　　Real strange. I POSS big clothing *n*e?
　　　　This is really strange! Where is my overcoat?

I claim that in all three examples, shared knowledge, Yip & Rimmington's 'given situation or context', is significant. Connectedness between the shared context and the focus of the question (marked by *ne*) reduces down the examples. In [2.3] speaker and hearer know that a woman is having coffee and so the follow-up 'what about' question can only refer to the hearer's choice of drink: within a shared cognitive model the drinker is profiled. Example [2.4]

requires more than a simple substitution as in [2.3]; a shared cognitive model relates keys to door opening and the obvious unknown and important characteristic of the key is its location. If both people had known that the key had been heated or painted then the English translation of *yaoshi ne*? could be a generic 'what about' rather than the entirely reasonable 'where is?'. Instead of answering the question with the location of the key or fishing it out of one's pocket, the reply would be, 'It has cooled down' or 'The paint is dry'. Finally, in [2.5] there is no shared cognitive model associated with overcoats and no other explicit knowledge, and we infer that the speaker intends and the hearer assumes that the question concerns location.

In each example *ne* requires that current circumstances, shared information, and expectations do not change, even though the amount and type of shared knowledge is different. By analogy with *le*, I understand *ne* as a complex grouping of senses governed by the theme 'something has *not* changed'.

4. The Cantonese aspect markers *gan* (緊) and *zo* (阻/咗/咗)

The words *gan* (緊) and *zo* (阻) serve as aspect markers in spoken and informal written Cantonese but not in Mandarin. I drew examples from grammars, language textbooks, modern slang, a corpus, and the Cantonese idiom *Apple Daily*. All examples use *Jyutping* romanisation.

Chinese is topic-prominent (Li & Thompson 1981; Xu 2015) in that a topic is set up and followed by a comment, as illustrated by Xu's English example: 'This set of books, you may take away' (2015: 394). We can consider the verb in a clause as the topic, with aspect markers commenting on it. Also, in Cantonese forms such as *gai1gung1* (雞公, cockerel) and *jan4haak3* (人客, guest) adjectives follow nouns, reflecting either influence from regional languages or archaic usage (Hashimoto 1972). These points suggest a structure in which aspect markers follow and modify the verb.

4.1 Cantonese *gan*

Gan (緊, Mandarin *jin*) is an adjective which forms verb collocations. In Chik & Ng *gan* means '*tight; firm; fast*' with

collocations *gan2gap1* (緊急; *urgent, critical*) and *gan2zoeng1* (緊張; *tense, nervous*) (1989: 357). Li adds *gan2jiu3* (緊要), explained as '嚴重' (*serious*) (1980: 203). Neither dictionary mentions *gan* as an aspect marker.

Turning to aspectual use, Yip & Matthews explain that *gan* denotes 'on-going actions' similar to English '-ing', usually in the present but also in the past (2000: 99). As if to mirror the dictionaries, *gan* as lexical item is absent. Lo comments that several aspect markers (including *gan*) have either no meaning or meanings only distantly related to their lexical meaning (2003: 9).

However, two dictionaries mention both usages of *gan*. Meyer & Wempe's (1947) entry reads 'Important; urgent; firmly. Makes present participle', and Huang (1970) lists it twice: 'indicating continuance of action' and 'be tight'. There is no attempt to link the two usages. As well as similar examples in Cantonese, the XHC (1992) explains *jin* thus: 'the state of an object which has been pulled or compressed in various ways' (my translation).

The adjectival and aspectual usages of *gan* have been consistent for over 150 years. Example [3.1] is found in Williams (1856) and Eitel (1877), [3.2] is by Dyer Ball (1902), and [3.3] comes from He (1923). The translations of [3.1] and [3.2] are original and the rest are mine.

[3.1]　　等緊
　　　　dang2gan2
　　　　wait *gan*
　　　　Waiting for

[3.2]　　同邊個行緊路呢
　　　　tung4 bin1go3 haang4gan2 lou6 *ne1*
　　　　with which one walk *gan* road *ne*
　　　　With whom were (you) walking?

[3.3]　　煮緊飯
　　　　zyu2gan2 faan6
　　　　cook *gan* rice
　　　　cooking rice

[3.4] is from Luke & Wong (2015) and [3.5] from *Apple Daily* (Apple Daily 2017a).

[3.4]   每個月搵緊七萬幾蚊
        mui5go3 jyut6 wan2gan2 cat1maan6gei2 man1
        each CLF month seek *gan* seven ten-thousand DET buck
        Every month (he) is looking for at least $70000

[3.5]   佢哋全部都幫緊我
        keoi5dei6 cyun4bou6 dou1 bong1 gan2 ngo5
        they all also help *gan* I
        They [are] all help[ing] me too

Tight and *urgent* are not the same, and identifying the central sense is beyond this paper. However, in Wieger (1916: 1120) and Wilder & Ingram (1922: 46) *jin* comes under the silk radical (絲) associated with threads and binding and explained as 'serré' (Fr. 'bound' or 'tightened') and 'to bind fast' respectively. I claim that a combination of force, firmness, tightness, and urgency underlies an implicit cognitive model for the grammaticalised, aspectual role of *gan*. This is congruent with Chappell's comment that a 'semantic link' between the Cantonese progressive and a state of tightness is 'plausible' (1992: n.p.).

A final relevant element is boundedness. Langacker mentions an accepted parallel between the pairs perfective/imperfective for verbs and count/mass for nouns (1991: 87), noting that completed actions and countable objects have clear boundaries while imperfectives and mass nouns lack boundedness. *Gan*'s sense of tightness due to a force is unbounded in time; once a force is bounded it ends, along with the state it causes. Note that Chappell (1992) categorises *gan* and *zo* as unbounded and bounded respectively, without making a link to force.

Moving beyond Chinese, it is instructive that the Thai continuous aspect marker *kamlang* has the lexical sense of *force*. Meepoe presents the nominal and aspectual senses of *kamlang*, mentioning 'dynamicity and agency' (2001: 291) and 'energy input from the agent' (2001: 295). Thus, a geographically close language signifies continuous action by the notion of force.

4.2 Cantonese *zo*

Williams defines *zo* (阻) as 'to hinder, to impede, to stop, to make delay; an impediment' (1856: 25), while Chik & Ng (1989) have 'to prevent; to stop; to separate; to hinder'. The XHC (1992) has no entry for *zu* (阻) in isolation, but links many collocations back to *zuzhi* (阻止), which I translate as: 'prevent from making progress; cause to stop moving'. I argue that the perfective marker *zo* developed from the meaning *to hinder* or *to impede*.

Yip & Matthews' introduction to aspectual *zo* contains the following romanised examples (2000: 93).

[4.1]   Ngo5dei6 hai2 Gaa1naa4daai6 zyu6zo2 saam1nin4
        We at Canada live *zo* three year
        We lived in Canada for three years

[4.2]   Ngo5 tai2zo2 bun3 jat6 syu1
        I look *zo* half day book
        I have been reading for half a day

They claim that [4.1] views the period in Canada as 'a complete whole' (2000: 93) while [4.2] describes a situation which began in the past but extends to the time of speaking.

A complication for my analysis is that the written form of *zo* as aspect marker (but not lexical item) has changed over the last 150 years, from an original 阻, through the modified咽, to the current 咗, which I denote *zo-1*, *zo-2*, and *zo-3* respectively. Without knowledge of this complexity, tracing the grammaticalisation of *zo* would be problematic.

Williams describes *zo* as 'a colloquial word. A sign of the past tense, placed after verbs' (1856: 26). Examples [4.3] and [4.4] were listed under the dictionary entry for 阻 (*zo-1*) but romanised; the added gloss is mine. Eitel (1877) reproduces these examples and explanations but places them under *zo-2* (咽).

[4.3]   ning1zo2 lei4
        carry-with-hand *zo* come
        brought it

[4.4]   heoi3zo2
          go *zo*
          gone

Examples [4.5] and [4.6] from Dyer Ball (1902) show variation between *zo-1* and *zo-2* at the turn of the last century. The particle *lok* suggests finality. The translations are original.

[4.5]   個薸死阻咯
          go2 po1 sei2zo2 lok3
          that CLF die *zo* Pt   [*zo-1*]
          That plant is dead

[4.6]   我舊帽爛咀咯
          ngo5 gau6 mou6 laan6zo2 lok3
          I old hat break *zo* Pt   [*zo-2*]
          My old one is worn out

Decades later Huang states that 咀 (*zo-2*) is a 'verb suffix indicating completed action' (1970: 409). His Cantonese textbook contains the following example (1973: 65).

[4.7]   隔咀幾日
          gaak3zo2 gei2 jat6
          separate *zo* few day   [*zo-2*]
          a few days later

The final development of written *zo* is seen in examples from So (2002: item 2800) and the *Apple Daily* (Apple Daily 2017b) respectively. The translation in [4.8] is So's, and that in [4.9] is mine.

[4.8]   食咗火藥
          sik6zo2 fo2yoek6   [*zo-3*]
          eat *jo* fire medicine
          to have eaten gun powder
          Very angry, with the eyes flaring fire

[4.9] 佢話：送咗媽媽返鄉下
        kui5 waa6: sung3zo2 maa1maa1 faan1 hoeng1haa6   [*zo-3*]
        she say send zo mum return hometown
        She said: [I] sent mum back [to her] hometown

The aspect marker '咀is 'now written 咗' (Cheung, 2011: 24). Both are non-standard forms derived from 阻 and 左 by adding the 'mouth' radical, a common process in Cantonese (Snow 2004: 54; Bauer 1988: 261). The early transition from 阻 (*zo-1*) to 咀 (*zo-2*) preserves the sound and form of the morpheme but marks a new syntactic function. The move to 咗 (*zo-3*) may be linked to a phonological shift in recent decades. Bauer & Benedict (1997: 436, fn.8) describe the breakdown in the distinction between palatal and alveolar affricates, clear from a comparison between Meyer & Wempe's (1947) romanisation of咀and 左as *choh* and *tsoh* [sic] and Chik & Ng's (1989) and Li's (1980) listing of both with a pronunciation corresponding to阻/咀. I claim that although the form has changed 阻 > 咀 > 咗, the sense of *to hinder, impede, stop* is retained.

As with *gan*, *zo*'s aspectual function reflects grammaticalisation of a lexical item, whose meaning is consistent with boundedness. Also, *zo* (阻) belongs to the阝/阜 radical, translated 'mound' or 'embankment' by Wieger (1916: 1174) and Wilder & Ingram (1922: 149) and grouping words related to separating and blocking. In a topic-comment frame, the perfective marker shows that the action of the verb is blocked or hindered. Examples [4.1] and [4.2] both fit within this general framework, although [4.1] is more prototypical. The three years mentioned in [4.1] ended before the time of speaking, and the half-day in [4.2] comes to a virtual conclusion in the mind of the speaker as he or she speaks.

In both *gan* and *jo*, a (stative) verb has evolved into an aspect marker by a process of grammaticalisation in which some facet of its action or property is profiled and describes the nature of an action by means of extension from physical to conceptual domain.

5. Conclusion

This brief paper has explored different kinds of domain transfer for pairs of particles in Mandarin and Cantonese. The Mandarin pair exhibits polysemy, organised by implicit cognitive models related to the presence or absence of change, while the Cantonese pair represents grammaticalisation while retaining much of the lexical meaning of the words.

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Typology of the Ancient Perception of Fluidity Based on the Radicals for Fluids ('Water', 'Rain', 'Wind', 'Cloud', 'Qi', etc.)

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Abstract

Ancient Chinese perception is characterized by 'fluidity' (transitivity and permeability), which speaks of an extensive information transfer from the transsensory spectrum of reality to the sensory one. In this paper, based on the established radicals for fluids (e.g. 'water', 'rain', 'wind', 'cloud', 'qi', etc.), we typologize the corresponding nominations (in Shuowen jiezi /2nd century AD/ generically defined as "a kind of fluid state") according to their combinability with certain "archetypemes" (semantically-associated phonetic modules). The latter are thus proved to convey presignification information related to wave patterns, forms, texture, directedness of flow, etc.

Keywords: Ancient Chinese perception; radicals for fluids; linguistic 'fluidity'; archetypemes.

Since ancient times Chinese perception of the occurring phenomena, of the cosmos and the absolute reality itself is characterized by fluidity (by which we mean the quality of flow, transitivity, changeability, permeability, as well as pertinence to the transsensory spectrum of reality). To illustrate, we will list few examples:

1) the heaven dome is made of liquid jade;

2) the sun is carried through its path by pneumatic currents (primeval fluid *qì* 氣), visualized as birds in flight;

3) all phenomena (internal and external) are transformations of the six fluids *liùqì* 六氣: *yīn* 陰, *yáng* 陽, wind *fēng* 風, rain *yǔ* 雨, the sun *rì* 日 and the moon *yuè* 月 (the day-night cycle implies 'time');

4) the Milky way is referred to as the Silver River *Yínhé* 銀河 or the Heavenly River *Tiānhé* 天河;

5) the absolute reality in proto-Daoist thought, for example, is approximated to the substance of water ("The Great One *Tàiyī* gives birth to Water" 《太一生水》). Moreover, most of the fundamental

transcendent concepts in this teaching contain the radical 'water' (Koutzarova 2017).

This leads to intuitively generated knowledge of the fluid dynamics, evident from the following aspects:

1) advanced ability to visualize/see the distribution of waves in space (including light and sound waves, incorporated in the relevant ideograms);

2) awareness of the effect of the vibrational frequencies on the mind/consciousness;

3) understanding of the function of fluids in the cycle of life – the toroidal movement of the energy inside the human body and in the entire universe (i.e. the Small Heavenly Cycle *Xiǎo zhōutiān* 小周天 and the Large Heavenly Cycle *Dà zhōutiān* 大周天, etc.) [See Figure 1];

4) characterization of things based on their *yin* or *yang* dominant principle (e.g. "The rain is *yin*, the mist is *yang*", etc.);

5) system of pan-signification of fluid images as omens, premonitions or preludes, etc.
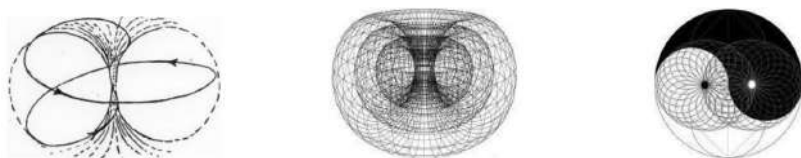
Figure 1. Models of the Toroidal dynamics of *qi*

Ancient Chinese treated the ideoretinal light (the light produced within the eyes) as the source of wisdom/information via the most basic forms and archetypal images like lines, dots, checkered patterns, orthogonal lattices, concentric circles, etc. (present since Neolithic art and turning into the basic building blocks of *jiǎgǔwén* 甲骨文 script) [See Figure 2].
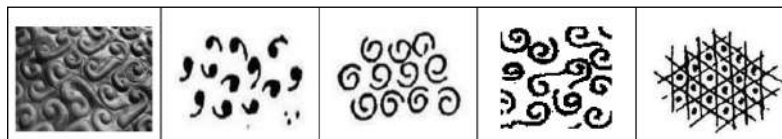
Figure 2. Representations of the ideoretinal light as *qi*-background on Shang and Zhou bronzes

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The ideoretinal light combined with the ideation of primordial fluid *qi* 三 (abstraction of the wave function) lead to the inference that the *yin-yang* toroidal dynamics exists at all micro and macro scales, the nondual central axis *Tàiyī* 太一 at the very center. The resulting understanding of the subtle (the invisible, unhearable, etc.) began to be reflected in the logograms in the form of dottedness, waviness, spiralness, parallel straight lines, etc. These are precisely the forms that represent the established radical of fluids as well [See Figure 3].

shuǐ 水 (𝍦, 𝍧, 𝍨, 𝍩) [ɕiwəi] 'water'; 'river'

yǔ 雨 (𝍪, 𝍫) [ɣǐwɑ] 'rain'

fēng 風 (𝍬, 𝍭) [pǐwəm] 'wind'

yún 雲 (𝍮, 𝍯) [ɣǐwən] 'cloud'

qì 气/氣 (𝍰, 𝍱, 𝍲) [kʻǐət] 'air'; 'gas'

Figure 3. The established five radicals for fluids:

The perception of 'fluidity', along with the ideographic level of the written signs, is transferred on other linguistic levels, i.e.: 1) syntax (e.g. the 'sentence' becomes a concept refracted through the act of breathing, since many of the link-words are based on the 'wave function'/'vortex', thus *qi* becomes means of conveying syntactic information); 2) lexicology and lexicography [e.g. the dictionary "Explicating simple characters, dissecting complex characters" *Shuōwén jiězì* 《說文解字》 (for short "Shuowen") /2nd century AD/ is grounded in the teaching of *yin-yang* and the five elements *Yīn-yáng wǔxíng xué* 陰陽五行學, therefore logograms are commonly defined through *qi*, i.e. "a kind of *qi*" or "a kind of *qi* movement"], etc.

Geno- and phenotypically activated sensory perception of 'fluidity' finds its conformation in the extensive number of significations that reproduce various parts of the endless spectrum of waves and their fluid manifestations. In "Shuowen" we detect 133 characters, generically defined as "a kind of water state" *shuǐ mào*

"水兒" [See Table 1]. Under almost identical definitions, i.e. "a water current/flow" *shuǐliú* "水流" and "a state of water flow" *shuǐliú mào* "水流兒", there are additional 115 characters [See Table 2].

Table 1. Different kinds of "water states" *shuǐ mào* "水兒" (Total of 133)

án 湵	gǔ 淈	liáo 漻/漻	pō 瀕	xiàn 溜
àn 滇	guǐ 瀤	lín 淋	pǒ 洰	xiāo 瀟
bēn 泍	hàn 泔	lín 灆	pò 溥	xiè 溅/瀷
bèn 浐	hào 滈	lín 潾	pò 洦	xíng 溳
bèn 滏	hào 淏	líng 泠	qióng 浻	xiū 浗
běng 澷	hào 浩	liǔ 泖	quǎn 汱	yàn 滟
bì 灡	hé (氵+遏)	màn 灡	rè 沎	yàn 漾
biǎn 辡	hóng 泽	mǎng 潤	róng 溶	yàn 淡
bó 溥	hóng 洪	mǎng 漭/汒	róng 融	yǎo 漾
bó 渤	hòng 港	máo 渵	shāo 溲	yì 漓
bó 洦	hū 惚	mào 涄	shī 漇	yì 渰
càn 溌	hú 沍	mǐ 洣	shí 湜	yǐn 濱
càn 涸	hú 泓	mǐ 灡	shòu 浸	yǐn 潭
chǎng 淌	hù 淴	mì 溢	shuàng 淙	yíng
chěn 湛	huài 湫	miàn 泯	shuò 濯	灐/淡/瀯
chēng 湞	huàn 涣	miàn 洍	suò 溹	yǐng 潜
chì 浴	huì 濊	miǎo 淼	tài 泰	yǐng 瀴
cuán 灒	hún 混	miè 瀎	tán 淡	yú 瀲
cuì 淬	huò 濿	nà 渿	tàn 淡	yuè 瀹
cún 浧	huò 潟	niǎn 潅	tàn 灡	yuè 浟
dá 達	jiàn 灒	nìng 濘	tián 沺	zhá 渫
dǎng 灙	jiǒng 泂	nì 洇	tēng 瀓	zhān 澶
dé 㝵	jiē 湝	nuò 濡	wāi 瀤	zhǎng 漲
dǐng 灂	jié 溁	pāng 汸/滂	wǎng 汪	zhú 沘
duì 灘	jìn 潘	pèi 沛	wěng 潒	zhuàng 泏
duò 沱/沲	jǐng 洴	piǎo 瀿	xī 漽	zùn 灒
hóng 洰	kuáng 泏	píng 霐	xí 潪	

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Table 2. Different kinds of "water current/flow" *shuǐliú* "水流" or "states of water flow" *shuǐliú mào* "水流兒" (Total of 115)

bèi 灗	hòng 澒	lín 潾	shǎn 潤	xù 浭
bì 泌	hū 忽	liú 瀏	shǎn 灛	xù 漵
biāo 滮/澩	huàn 灌	lóng 瀧	shàn 潚	xuàn 潫
bō 波	huǐ 浍/澮	lǔn 淪	shāng 湯	xún 潯
bó 礐	huò 灪	mèn 澗	shěn 瀋	yà 浥
cán 淺	huò 濩	mǐ 灖	shěn 渗	yǎn/yàn 演
chán 潺	jìn 瀳	mǐ 瀰/瀹	tāng 淌	yàn 涎
chōng 浺	jiān 淺	mì 滵	tián 湉	yāng 泱
cóng 淙	jiān 濺	mǐn 潤/濶	tián 滇	yàng 漾
cóng 潀/潨	jiào 激	mò 洦	tū 湥	yē 澺/洇
cuì 淬	jiē 湝	nàn 灘	tuān 湍	yì 驛
dǎng 灙	jū 沮	nǎng 灢	tún 沌	yì 泲
dàng 潒	juān 涓	nǎng 瀼	wěi 瀢	yìng 瀅
dāo 氝	jué 潏	nào 淖	wěi 沑	yōu 攸/汝
dòng 洞	kū 滀	niǎn 淰	wěi 浘	yōu 泅
fàn 泛/氾/汜/汛	kuǎn 潫	pàn 沜	wěi (氵+聿+胃)	yōu 滺
gàn 泔	lài 瀨	pāng 滂	wū 洿	yóu 㴌
gǔ 淈	láng 浪	páo 泡	wù 鴽	yù 减
gǔn 滚/混	lí 灕	pēng 滂	xǐ 漇	yuán 澐
gǔn 渾	lì 汵	piē 潎	xiá 潝	zhèn 湴
guō 漍	lì 濼	róng 溶	xiá 浃	zhī 湁
hàn 泔	liàn 浰	shà 潵	xié 潚	zhì 𥧩
hàng 沆	liè 浖		xiè 渫	zòu 潄

Although among them there are some homonyms, polyphones or polygraphs, and others are used only as syllables of binomes *liánmiáncí* 聯綿詞, the total figure of 248 nominations certainly startles us the same way the multiple words for 'snow' do in the agglutinative Eskimo languages. Nonetheless, the mental and sensory sensitivity of the Ancient Chinese towards 'water' and its qualities can further be proven by including in the discussion more analogous definitions in "Shuowen", e.g.: "a kind of wave state" *bō mào* "波兒" or "(water) wave pattern" *shuǐ(bō) wén* "水（波）文", as well as the onomatopoeias of 'water sounds' *shuǐ shēng* "水聲" that cover almost the entire phonetic inventory, Ancient and Modern [See Table 3].

Table 3. Additional fluid-related nominations, based on radical 'water'

Definition	Total number of fluid nominations
"Wave state" *Bō mào* "波兒" / "Wave pattern" *Shuǐ(bō) wén* "水（波）文"	49
"Water swirling state" *Shuǐ (huí)xuán mào* "水（回）旋兒"	27
"Water sounds" *Shuǐ shēng* "水聲"	77

For the sake of comprehensiveness of the study, we will provide data on the fluid nominations, based on the remaining radicals for fluids[1] as well [See Table 4].

Table 4

Definitions	Total number of fluid nominations
"Rain state" *Yǔ mào* "雨兒" / "Rain" *Yǔ yě* "雨也"	81
"Rain sound" *Yǔ shēng* "雨聲" / "Thunder sound" *Léi shēng* "雷聲" / "Water sound" *Shuǐ shēng* "水聲" (expressed by radical 'rain' *yǔ* 雨)	24
"Cloudiness" *Yún qì* "云氣" / "Cloud state" *Yún mào* "云兒" [expressed by radical 'rain' *yǔ* 雨 or combined radical 'cloud' *yún* 雲 ('rain' *yǔ* 雨 + 'cloud' *yún* 云)]	35
"Wind state" *Fēng mào* "風兒"	94
"Wind sound" *Fēng shēng* "風聲"	34

The pre-signification perceptions on fluid/wave pattern level (prior to appearance of 'thingness') are reproduced by means

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[1] Radical *qì* 气/氣 is not included in the table, because it has a specificity of its own. Firstly, the "Shuowen" definitions here gravitate around "a certain *qi*/energy" *qì yě* "… 气也。"; "mind's/heart's energy/aura" *xīn qì yě* "心气也"; "smoke/fire's energy" *huǒ qì* "火气"; "clouds/vapors" *yún qì* "云气", etc., and secondly, it is much less productive (the fluid nominations here are not all that abundant).

of the meaningful modules, which convey specific information about texture, form-association, directionality, way of flow, etc. These meaningful modules are traditionally treated as "phonetic components" *shēngpáng* 聲旁. They represent the original semantic nuclei, so we coin the term 'archetypemes' (*yuánxíngsù* 原型素) for them. The archetypemes are not randomly chosen, on the contrary: they are designed to evoke certain archetypal images or synesthetic perceptions. In the case of 'water', the imposed archetypemes tend to bear connection to: 1) Anthropomorphism: (i) 'human head' (*shǒu* 首; *yè* 頁); (ii) 'human body' (*rén* 人; *dà* 大; *shī* 尸; *yāng* 央; *kàng* 亢; *zǐ* 子, etc.); (iii) parts of human body (*qiàn* 欠; *shé* 舌, etc.); 2) Zoomorphism (e.g. 'elephant' *xiàng* 象; 'tiger' *hǔ* 虎; 'horse' *mǎ* 馬; 'ram' *yáng* 羊; 'bird' *niǎo* 烏; 'snake' *shé* 蛇; 'dragon' *lóng* 龍, etc. – all deeply charged with the notion of fluid patterns); 3) Flora (e.g.: 'grass' *tún/zhūn* 屯; 'seedling' *duān/zhuān* 耑; 'thicket' *ěr* 爾, etc); 4) Abstractions ('thread/silk/featherlike' structure: *shān* 彡; *yāo* 幺; *máo* 毛; *xuán* 玄), etc. 'Water's frequent association with the archetypeme 'knife' *dāo* 刀 and an array of other weapons (e.g. *bì* 必; *gē* 戈; *wù* 勿; *máo* 矛) in our understanding has something to do with the notion of 'viscosity'.

Noteworthy are the cases of "reverberation" of water (or its source) through archetypemes of second- and third-order (e.g. *huái* 瀤, *yōu* 汹, etc.). There is an easily traceable tendency of juxtaposition/collocation with other fluid archetypes like: 'fire' (e.g. *yíng* 濴/淡/濚; *tán/yàn* 淡; *tàn* 淡, etc.); 'feather'/'wing' (*liáo* 漻/潦; *xí* 潩; *wěng* 滃; *xíng* 溁; *shuò* 濯, etc.); 'silk' (*suò* 漺, etc.) or with readymade cymaglyphs (*yuè* 瀹; *xiāo* 瀟, etc.).

The fact that there is a set of archetypemes, employed in all four radicals for fluids can be explained by the typologized archetypal information they convey [See Table 5]:

Table 5

Archetypeme	Frequency	Archetypal information
tún/zhūn 屯	4 of 4	shooting up; breaking through; undulation; bifurcation; chaos; non-compositeness; gathering
shé/tuō/tā 它	3 of 4	snakelike movement; coiling; turbulence
piāo/piào 票	3 of 4	flying sparks; flames; floating; waving
chuí 垂	3 of 4	suspending; hanging down; horizontalness; perpendicularity; boundary
xiào/xiāo 肖	3 of 4	(self)similarity; tininess; weakness; diminishment; disappearance
suǒ 索	3 of 4	threadlike; rope-like; silk-like; tail-like; chainlike; twistedness
dēng 登	3 of 4	ascending; moving upwards; height; surpassing
wù 勿	3 of 4	flaglike; hangings; waving; waterflow
chū 出	3 of 4	advancing; growing; surpassing; emanating; passing

A brief overview of the archetypemes, recurrent in at least 2 of the radicals, estimates them to be no less than hundred (sixty of which are listed in Table 6). The scope of their archetypal meaning can be deciphered in the above manner, e.g. *bāo* 包 'placenta'/'embryo' → enveloping; embracing; *bèi* 孛 'overgrowth'/'bright comet' → exuberance; abundance; *bìng* 並 'standing together'→ simultaneousness; paralellness; *chóng* 崇 'lofty'/'noble'/'revere' → elevation; ascendance; *dāo* 刀 'knife' → strength; viscosity; *dí* 翟 'pheasant'/'feathers' → patternedness; spottiness, and so forth.

Table 6. Other common archetypemes transpiring fluid characteristics

bāo 包	*fēng/féng* 夆	*jiē* 皆	*pán* 爿	*wéi* 韋	*yì* 裔
bèi 孛	*fǔ* 甫	*jǐng* 井	*péng* 朋	*wēng* 翁	*yín* 尢
bìng 並	*gāo* 高	*jūn* 君	*qī* 妻	*xí* 習	*yuán* 元
chóng 崇	*guì* 貴	*lì* 利	*qiān* 僉	*xiāo* 蕭	*yuè* 戉
dāo 刀	*hán* 函	*lì* 立	*shā/suì* 杀	*xuán* 旋	*zhà* 乍
dí 翟	*hé* 曷	*lín* 林	*shàng* 尚	*xuán* 玄	*zhēn* 真
dǐng 鼎	*huò* 或	*lìng* 令	*shòu* 壽	*yán* 延	*zhī* 隻
fán 凡	*jí* 戢	*lóng* 龍	*sǒu* 叟	*yán* 炎	*zhuān* 專
fāng 方	*jiā* 夾	*méng* 冡	*sù* 肅	*yāng* 央	*zhòng* 眾
fú 市	*jié* 建	*mù* 木	*tíng* 廷	*yì* 聑	*zōng* 宗

We will illustrate with some additional examples, based on radical 'rain' *yǔ* 雨 by exposing the type of information the archetypemes transfer regarding the state of fluidity: (i) texture (e.g. *shān* 霘 'drizzle', meaning generated via *shān* 彡 'hair'/'ornaments' → filamentousness; stream; flow); (ii) intensity (e.g. *huì* 霘 'small clouds gathering' via *huì* 會 'to gather'/'to put a lid on' → accumulation; convergence); (iii) direction (e.g. *chì* 霗 'heavy showers' via *lì* 立 'to stand erect'/'to exist' → vertical axis /straight from heaven/); (iv) manner (e.g. *bēng* 霠 via *péng* 朋 'two strings of coins' and *bēng* 崩 their 'collapsing on the ground → interaction; falling down; scattering); (v) duration (e.g. *yàn* 霆 'dense clouds' via *yán* 延 'extend'/'prolong' → far-spread; long-lasting); (vi) audial perceptions (e.g. *yū* 霠 'pouring with rain' via *wū* 汙 'small pool' via the workings of the archetypeme *yú* 于 'blow-organ').

Rain is part of the water cycle, so like the radical 'water' *shuǐ* 水, the radical 'rain' is combinable with a large array of fluid patterns (e.g. *wén* 雯 'cloud patterns'; 'colored clouds' via *wén* 文 '(decorative) patterns/figures') or animals that have them in the form of strips, scales, horns, etc. (e.g. tiger, snake, fish, dear/buck, etc.).

When the archetypeme is a negative adverb, the very nature of water as pathway to the quantum world becomes unambiguous (fractal interrelation between water and the ontological emptiness / superfluid vacuum). For example, in *fù* 霂 'mist'/'float'; *fēi* 霏 'floating clouds'/'mist'/'flutter'; *fú* 霼 'clouds'; *hū* 雾 'lightning', etc., the negative adverbs *bù* 不, *fēi* 非, *fú* 弗 and *wù* 勿 (with respective ancient pronunciation: [pĭwə], [pĭwəi], [pĭwăt] and [mĭwă t]) are homophonic cognates of *wú* 無 [mĭwɑ] 'nonbeing'.

Most of the radicals for fluids can be reduplicated, tripled or quadrupled as common means of forming new ideograms (e.g. *shǎng* 飐 'chaotic winds' /2 times 'wind'; *báo* 雹 'hail' /3 times 'rain'; *màn* 淼 'great currents' /4 times 'water'/; *nóng* 靐 'far-reaching clouds' /4 times 'cloud'/, etc.). In Table 7 we have systematized the actual cases, in which this phenomenon occurs, as well as the possible combinability within the discussed radicals (e.g. *xì* 靐 'cloudy'; 'obscure' /'cloud' + '*qi*'/; *fēng* 渢 'water sounds' /'water' + 'wind'/; 颪 /'rain' + 'wind'/ – pronunciation and meaning unknown, etc.).

Table 7. Combinability of the radicals for fluids

	水	風	雨	氣	云	雲
水	V	V	V	V	V	V
風	V	V	V	V	x	x
雨	V	V	V	x	V	x
氣/气	V	V	x	x	V	x
云	V	x	V	x	x	V
雲	V	x	x	V	V	V

The studied radicals for fluids ('water' *shuǐ* 水, 'rain' *yǔ* 雨, 'wind' *fēng* 風, 'cloud' *yún* 雲 and 'fluid/energy' *qì* 氣) have developed a certain degree of synonymity and thus interchangeability. They are often juxtaposed with building blocks of ideograms that are likewise imbued with "fluidity", e.g. 'electricity' *diàn* 电/電, 'lightning' *léi* 雷, 'spirit' *shén* 申/神, 'omen'/'alter' *shì* 示, 'haven' *tiān* 天, 'light' *guāng* 光 'sun' *rì* 日, 'mountain' *shān* 山, 'ice' *bīng* 仌/冰, 'snow' *xuě* 雪, 'grass' *cǎo* 艸, 'feather'/'down' *yǔ* 羽, 'hair'/'fur' *máo* 毛, 'silk' *mì/sī* 糸, as well as with the fluid entities of the five elements/ phases *wǔxíng* 五行, e.g. 'fire' *huǒ* 火, 'metal' *jīn* 金, 'tree' *mù* 木, 'earth' *tǔ* 土, etc. [See Table 8].

Table 8. Existing combinations of various fluid components

	糸	羽	毛	米	日	白	水	火	金	木	土
水	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	x	V	V
風	V	V	V	x	V	V	V	V	x	x	x
雨	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	x	V	V
氣/气	x	x	x	V	V	V	x	V	x	x	x

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A Study on Conceptualisation and Verbalisation of Actions in Chinese and Slovene

Tina Čok

Abstract

The paper attempts to analyse the semantic and syntactic idiosyncrasy of Chinese, compared to Slovenian, in order to assess the degree of language-specificity with regards to actions. Based on data obtained from an empirical study performed on Chinese native speakers at the Capital Normal University in Beijing, we try to show how language-specific syntactic features may affect semantic understanding of the uttered message. The main goal of the study is to draw attention to the need of a more conprehensive didactic approach in the field of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL) that would consider notions like the so-called "rich points" and "languaculture"[1], and would comply more with experiential approaches in language learning and theories established in intercultural studies.

Keywords: teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language, verbal aspect, cognitive linguistics

According to the prevailing theories in linguistic relativism that sprang from conceptual proposals put forward by Boas (1911, 1940), Sapir (1921) and Whorf (1956) in the Western scientific tradition of the previous century, to more contemporary works from Asian cognitive and comparative grammarians like Tai (1984, 2003, 2013), Thepkanjana and Uehara (2009, 2010) it is said that although man might have an intrinsic cognitive predisposition to convey messages through sentence creation, the differences in the semantic and syntactic structures between languages might as well have an ontological impact on the way peoples from various language backgrounds conceive and understand reality.

Challenged by assertions like "each individual language thus represents a unique segmentation of the external world and the universe

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[1] We adopted the concepts of *rich points* and *languaculture* from Michael Agar (1994).

of human experience" (Tai 2013: 60) we proposed a study, in which language tests were applied to empirically assess the understanding of the inherent semantic nature of verbs in Chinese language and results were analysed and compared to the conceptualisation and verbalisation of the same actions in Slovene.

According to what is stated above, the empirical study has tried to prove the following hypotheses:
1. Actions and their mental representations are not always unambiguous and therefore difficult to semantically compare between languages.
2. The correlation between verb type and degree of completion of the action in Chinese language will show only partial correspondence.

Research postulates

The core subject of comparison in the study is the verb, one of the most important syntactic and semantic categories. In many languages the verb is inflected and encodes tense, aspect, mood and voice. It often also helps convey person, gender and number of the subject or object. Nevertheless, not all of the languages in the world present these features.

It has been previously proposed that different languages take different perspectives on activities and events. Scholars like Ikegami (1985) have worked on the difference between Japanese and English, arguing that Japanese is a process-oriented and English is a result-oriented language.

Basically, the perspective on how we understand an action being focused on the process, which might or might not end up in a change of state or toward a result made possible by this change, depends on how this action is expressed through the use of the verb. Nevertheless, not only the verb can be the carrier of this perspective. Language is full of more or less subtle mechanisms, which even subconsciously convey what is the conveyer's standpoint or what segment of the action is he or she focusing on.

Verbs in the Indo-European linguistic tradition have been, following Vendler's classification (1967), divided into four main types according to their inherent property of (semantic) eventuality; verbs which express state, activity, achievement, accomplishment and semelfactive as a separate cathegory, subsequently added to Vendler's classification by Bernard Comrie in 1976.

For Chinese on the other hand this division seems not to fit entirely, especially in terms of the categories of achievements and accomplishments.

In Slovene language, on the other hand, besides the pretty elaborate system related to the grammatical aspect of the verb, for which every verb has two forms, the perfective (*dovršnik*) and imperfective (*nedovršnik*), the lexical aspect is very much similar to the one identified by Vendler.

In Chinese, to express completion of an action a single verb is very often not enough. In these cases Chinese language employs resultative and compound causative constructions, which are, simply put, a combination of two verbs where the first one conveys the activity, the second one is a resultative verb that transfers the focus from the activity in process to its result. We can find more evidence of the lack of real accomplishment verbs in Chinese in Zhao (2005).

Besides the resultative and compound causative construction a maybe even more common way of changing aspect in Chinese is by employing the aspectual marker 'le' (了). But since it sometimes also affects only the tense its reliability in this concern is, so to speak, weak.

"A possible explanation is that the aspectual marker 'le' (了) may present events as bounded, but without information as to the termination or completion (Smith 1997). In other words, a bounded event is not necessarily a completed one. Without completive RVCs, Chinese verbs represent processes only." (Zhao 2005: 27)

What can be deduced from studies previously made on the ambiguities and peculiarities in the interpretation of the expressed completion of some Chinese verbs (Koenig and Chief 2008, Peck et al. 2013, Thepkanjana and Uehara 2009; 2010) is that they comprise

a very wide and ambiguous scale of degree of completion, which is often open to interpretations.

More reasons for the loose correspondence between categories proposed by Vendler between Chinese and Indo-European languages have been further introduced by Tai, and the proposed mismatch is presented in the table below.

"The recognition of "result" as a semantic prime in Chinese verb semantics in fact forms a contrast with the four semantic categories, which Vendler (1967) has proposed for English, for Chinese has only state, activities, and result, lacking accomplishment and achievement categories. The latter two categories are expressed mostly in action-result verb compounds (V1-V2)". (Tai 2003: 306)

Table 1. Comparison of verb types pertaining to the notion of time in Slovene and Chinese

Language	Verb type			
Slovene	state	activity	accomplishment	achievement
Chinese	state	activity	accomplishment	achievement

According to this, monomorphemic Chinese verbs referring to a goal-directed action in Chinese must entail different degrees of completion on their own.

Based on previous theoretical studies, the following criteria were applyed for Chinese monomorphemic verbs employed in linguistic tests. They should first of all express an activity that aims at the attainment of a result. And more specifically they: 1) should be classified as implied-result verbs defined by Thepkanjana and Uehara (2010); 2) must display a scalar feature proposed by Peck et al. (2013), more precisely, be identified as multi-point closed scalar verbs and 3) should entail a change, which the degree does not incrementally follow the temporal progression of the event as defined by Koenig and Chief (2008).

Methods and techniques

A causal experimental method was applied in the study, which used research instruments to assess subject's perception about the level of completion of the action, expressed by a Chinese monomorphemic verb.

The investigation used a within-subject design, thus each of the subject participated in all conditions. We collected the quantitative data with an off-line technique.

We performed five tasks, of which, due to the still ongoing research, only two will be presented in this paper. All of them have been designed to assess the focus on action (process or result), and how they are perceived by native speakers of Chinese.

The sample size was 30 (n=30), 20 female and 10 male participants, age ranged from 19 to 28 years, the average age being 23, 03 years.

Procedure

The instruments employed in the tasks were questionnaires built and performed with the open source application PsychoPy.

Figure 1. Screen shot of Task 1 (left) and 2 (right) in PsychoPy.

Task 1 was based on the rating scale technique, and comprised the semantic differential method. The main objective of this task was to determine the degree of completion of Chinese monomorphemic result-oriented verbs perceived by native speakers. The participant described his/her perception of the action expressed by the

verb used in the sentence on a descriptive 3-point rating scale, stretching from *not completed*, *maybe completed* to *completed*. The stimulus in this task, represented by a whole sentence in which monomorphemic verb is used along with the particle 'le' (了), is expected to make participants more likely to opt for the highest degree of completion.

Task 2 was a triads sorting task, in which participants had to select an option according to the associative principle. The participants were given a verb as a stimulus, which they had to than pair with one of the two possible options (another verb or a short phrase), on the basis of semantic similarity. The two options were semantic extremes in the degree of completion, and semantically related to the stimulus.

In both tasks verb corpus comprised 76 monomorphemic verbs, (38 accomplishment verbs, 22 achievement verbs, 11 activity verbs and 5 semelfactives). Activity and semelfactive verbs were included in the tasks also in the role of distractors.

Results and discussion

Table 1 reveals the interconnectivity between verb type and the degree of completion assessed for the single action by the participants. The results confirmed the non-absolute correspondence between categories and actions in Chinese (90, 3 %). Nevertheless, the fact that the highest correspondence was found in the category of achievements is not surprising. It is however interesting that the observed correspondence is not absolute (100 %), for it would be impossible to expect such results for Slovene where, with the exact same stimulus, there are no chances of ambiguities.

Table 2. Ratio in numbers and percentage between verb type and the assessed degree of completion for Task 1

VERB TYPE	DEGREE OF COMPLETION			
	Completed	Maybe completed	Not completed	TOTAL
Accomplishment	767	343	30	1140
	67,3 %	30,1 %	2,6 %	100%
Achievement	596	61	3	660
	90,3 %	9,2 %	0,5 %	100%
Activity	157	155	18	330
	47,5 %	47 %	5,5 %	100%
Semelfactive	27	75	48	150
	18 %	50 %	32 %	100%

Data for the other two categories are similar. The difference in percentage between the category, which by definition should convey uncompleted actions (activity verbs) and the category of accomplished verbs (oriented toward the achievement of a result) is of only 13,5 %. On the other hand, where we expected the correspondence to be high, i.e. for activity verbs and uncompleted degree, the percentage remains comparable with the other two categories. Nevertheless, we should not forget to read these data within the condition of the task.

In Task 2 the technique of semantic differences was adopted to determine mental representation of the actual action without grammatical particles that could influence on the possible semantic interpretations.

Table 3. Ratio in numbers and percentage between verb type and the assessed degree of completion for Task 2

VERB TYPE	DEGREE OF COMPLETION		
	Completed	Not completed	TOTAL
Accomplishment	353	787	1140
	31 %	69 %	100%
Achievement	277	383	660
	58 %	42 %	100%
Activity	287	43	330
	13 %	87 %	100%
Semelfactives	104	46	150
	30,7 %	69,3 %	100%

The data presented in Table 3 displays a very different perception of the same actions as in Task 2. Results even exceeded our expectations, for it is observed that much more than half of the accomplishment verbs have been related to the uncompleted semantic counterpart, while just a little more than half of the achievement verbs were related to the counterpart expressing completion. For activity and semelfactive verbs answers were distributed in favour of the uncompletness of the action in a very similar manner as in the case of accomplishment verbs.

On the basis of the collected data in Task 1 and 2 we can conclude that the aspectual nature of the Chinese verb is extremely ambiguous. Its semantic interpretation oscillates on the dichotomy of the completion of the action even when used in a sentence together with the grammatical particles that should define its completion. The ambiguity disappears only with the use of resultative verbal compounds. However, the latter are not the only language tool Chinese speakers use to express completed actions. Language practice, in fact, shows that monomorphemic verbs are also used to utter a completed action, wherein many are the factors that influence the right understanding of the message, among others also the intrinsic potentiality of completion inherent to the single verb.

Slovene language on the other hand does not leave space to ambiguities, for almost each verb has two grammatical forms, depending if we want to express an action in its entirety and completion (*dovršnik*) or in its procesual phase (*nedovršnik*). That makes not only the receeipient of the message be pretty much sure of the meaning of the action but it also forces the conveyer of the message be more attentive on the meaning he or she wants to generate. It's like if the language would focus the choice for you, and leave no room for interpretations. The unambiguity of Slovene language made the reproduction of the tests in Chinese impossible or better say unnecessary, because the selection of the answers would be dictated by the form employed in the stimulus.

The hypothesis of the weak interrelatedness between the verb type and the degree of completion in Chinese can be, on the basis of the acquired data, confirmed as well as the hypothesis of the difficulty to semantically compare actions between languages, based on the ambiguity that derives from their different ways of grammatically and lexically expressing verbal aspect.

We have thus come to the question of rich points proposed by Agar (1994) and his assertion on how understanding a language goes far beyond grammar and dictionary. On the basis of what is proposed in this paper we see great opportunities to make amends in the field of teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language (TLCFL). Our empirical data showed that Chinese verbs represent a rich point in the process of learning Chinese as a foreign language, at least for speakers of Slovene, and what we propose here is to put this theory in practice by include this difference in conceptualisazion of actions more comprehensively, not only in the grammatical explation in manuals and textbooks, but with concrete vocabulary explanations and examples, on which learners usually depend greatly.

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What's in a name? On the concept and the ways of naming ART in Chinese[1]

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Abstract

Before the beginning of China's large-scale development of Western scientific standards, the notion of art in China had been exclusively included in the categories of traditional philosophy, which created a double barrier to its understanding in the West, as it was impossible to recode the Chinese philosophic categories directly into their Western analogues, and also because the Chinese aesthetic and art history terminology and their issues were never delineated. The western meaning 'art' was originally assigned to several binominals inherited from wényán 文言— yìshù 藝術 in a narrow sense, whereas in a broad sense expressed by the terms jìyì 技藝, jìshù 技術, jìqiǎo 技巧, jìgōng 技工, jìdào 技道, yìdào 藝道, and yìyè 藝業. The term měishù 美術, lit. 'beauty + technique' was used to indicate only fine arts, until in 1936 the Cíhǎi defined the disyllabic yìshù 藝術 as standard. The coinciding parts of semantic fields of the above terms reveal the following fundamental attributes of Chinese art: virtuosity, erudition, technique, canonicity, wisdom, craftsmanship, abstractedness and functionality. The traditional Chinese art concept aestheticized both the literati's abstractedness (in calligraphy and poetry) and the earthy routine (in crafts and techniques), and evolved from the inseparability of wisdom and skills, philosophical content and decorative forms.

Keywords: Chinese art, conceptualization, fine arts

Before the beginning of China's large-scale development of Western scientific standards due to the abolition of the *kējǔ* 科舉 civil service examination system in 1905, the end of the imperial rule in 1911, the replacement of *wényán* 文言 with *báihuà* 白話 writing, the renovation during the May 4th Movement, and the

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introduction of western education, the notion of ART[2] in China had been exclusively included in the categories of traditional philosophy, such as *shù* 術, *shǔ* 數, *yì* 藝, *qiǎo* 巧, *dào* 道, *jì* 技, and *gōng* 工. The categories denoted by these terms, besides the meaning 'art', shared other meanings. All this created a double barrier to understanding in the West: first, because it was impossible to recode the Chinese philosophic categories directly into their Western analogues, and second, because the Chinese aesthetic and art history terminology and their issues were never clearly delineated (Kobzev 2010).

Art in general is a centuries-old plexus. Art in China evolved directly from workmanship and has preserved this utilitarian practice throughout its entire history. Chinese art as a whole is therefore indivisible from manual skills and, consequently, from the applied arts. Let us see the meanings of the above mentioned terms.

1. *Shù* 術. The Baxter-Sagart[3] Old Chinese (OC) and Middle Chinese (MC) phonological reconstruction of *shù* 術 'technique' demonstrates the same pronunciation with *shù* 述 'follow' and *shù* 鉥 'needle; lead' (OC *Cə-lut > MC *zywit*). Schuessler (2007: 473) draws the following semantic path: "'to follow', 'proceed, pass on' 述 > 'road, path' (in a town) 術 > 'procedure, device, art' 術; 'to lead' (as needle) 鉥 > 'needle'".

Shù 術 has the meanings 'technique', 'art', 'skill'; 'street', 'road'; 'method', 'tactics'; 'divination' (BKRS). In Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM), it is a generic morpheme that forms the names for arts, sciences or technical skills (e.g., *mǎshù* 馬術 'horsemanship', *wǔshù* 武術 'martial arts', *shǒushù* 手術 'surgical operation'), and also conveys the idea of terminologization (*shùyǔ* 術語, lit. 'technical word' > 'terminology, nomenclature').

2. *Qiǎo* 巧 (OC *[kʰ]ˤruʔ > MC *khaewX*) has the following meanings: 'artful', 'skilful' (of wheelwrights' or painters' work) (Wenren 2013: 18, 57), 'artistic'; 'fine' (of a voice or a talk), 'technique', 'be good at'; 'clever', 'intelligent' (BKRS); but also 'cunning' (Wenren 2013: 3).

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[2] SMALL CAPITALS hereinafter indicate concepts or categories.
[3] Available online at http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/ (last accessed on September 28, 2017). The version used in this article is of October 13, 2015.

3. *Shǔ* 數. According to Baxter and Sagart (2014: 144), *shǔ* 數 'to calculate, to count' (OC *s-roʔ > MC *srjuX*) and *shù* 數 'number' (OC *s-roʔ-s > MC *srjuH*) are somehow related to *shuò* 數 'frequently' (OC *s-rok > MC *sraewk*), and have the same phonetic with the character *lǚ* 縷 'thread' (OC *[r]oʔ > MC *ljuX*).

Shǔ 數 was applied in the Hàn 漢 and earlier to any discipline that involved mastery of regular patterns, including methods of prognostication and other arts (see Yoke 1991). Therefore, it often means 'to count', 'be uppermost', 'enumerate', 'figure', 'number', 'base', 'method', 'art', 'arithmetic',: but also 'art'; 'destiny', 'fate'; 'tactics', 'law', 'reason', 'rites', 'divination', 'talent', 'skill', 'plan', 'project' (BKRS). "This lexeme can be used together with the above mentioned term *qiǎo* 'skilful', as in the *Huáinánzi* 淮南子, where the art of the legendary archers Yì 羿 and Féng Méng 逢蒙 is called *qiǎo*, whereas the art of the famous fishermen Zhān Hé 詹何 and Juān Qióng 娟嬛 is called *shǔ*" (Pomeranceva 2004: 408). In MSM, *shǔ* conveys the meanings 'quantity', 'number', 'mathematics' and their derivates. .

4. *Yì* 藝. The reconstruction of this character revealed its phonological similarity to *yì* 埶 'to plant' (OC *ŋet-s > MC *ngjiejH*) and etymological relationship to *shì* 勢 'circumstances, setting' (OC *ŋ̊et-s > MC *syejH*). It can refer to the way nature has set things up, including such things as terrain and weather (Baxter and Sagart 2014: 29-30). The etymological meaning of *yì* 藝 is therefore very similar to that of the Latin *cultūra*. Schuessler (2007: 570) suggests the following semantic pathway: 'to plant, cultivate' (a crop, land) > 'accomplished, skill' > 'art, method, rule, regular'.

Yì 藝 has a wide range of meanings, such as 'skill', 'craftsmanship', 'artistry'; 'norm', 'standard', 'criterion'; 'limits', 'plant', 'grow', 'horticulture', 'the Confucian Six Arts (*liù yì* 六藝)', i.e. ethical-ritual "decency" (*lǐ* 禮), music (*yuè* 樂), archery (*shè* 射), charioteering (*yù* 御), calligraphy or literacy (*shū* 書), mathematics or reckoning (*shù* 數), and is also another name for 'the Six Classics' (*liù jīng* 六經), namely the *Classic of Odes* (詩經), the *Book of Documents* (尚書), the *Book of Changes* (周易), the *Classic of Rites* (禮記), the *Book of Music* (樂經), and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋) (BKRS; Lin 1972: 293). In MSM, this morpheme denotes the derivates of ART.

5. *Dào* 道 (OC *[kə.l]ˤuʔ > MC *dawX*) 'way, road, method' > 'the thing which is doing the conducting' (Schuessler 2007: 207). Besides the 'Dào', 'Daoism', and 'doctrine', may also refer to 'principle' (of building something) (Wenren 2013: 14), 'manner' (Wenren 2013: 50), 'path', 'channel', 'truth', 'morality', 'reason', 'skill', 'method', 'to say', 'to speak'; 'sect', 'administrative division' (in the Táng 唐) (BKRS). In MSM, the compound *dàodé* 道德 denotes 'morality', 'ethics', and 'virtue'.

6. *Jì* 技 (OC *[g]reʔ > MC *gjeX*) 'skill', 'artistry', 'ability', 'art', 'technique', 'trick', 'actress', 'craftsman' (BKRS). In MSM, it forms compounds related to technology and performing arts.

7. *Gōng* 工 (OC *kˤoŋ > MC *kuwng*) 'work', 'artisan' is phonologically and semantically related to *gōng* 功 (OC *kˤoŋ > MC *kuwng*) 'achievement', 'merit'; 'to work', 'to apply oneself', and to *gōng* 攻 'attack' (OC *kˤoŋ > MC *kuwng*) (Schuessler 2007: 255). One of the greatest examples is the title and the content of the *Kǎogōngjì* 考工記 Section of the *Rites of Zhōu* (周禮). This greatest treatise on science and technology of the V century BCE is usually translated as the *Artificers' Record* (Wenren 2013: xvii). Other meanings of gong include 'productive labour', 'industry', 'project', 'craftsmanship', 'be expert in', 'exquisite', 'delicate' (BKRS). It is interesting to note that this morpheme forms the disyllabic term *gōngfu* 工夫 'leisure, free time', which is also another written variant of *gōngfu* 功夫 'workmanship, skill, art, kung fu, martial arts' (BKRS; Kobzev 2010).

The coinciding parts of the semantic fields of the above analyzed terms reveal such fundamental characteristics of Chinese art as virtuosity, erudition, technique, canonicity, craftsmanship, abstractedness, and functionality. "The traditional Chinese ART concept aestheticized both the literati's abstractedness (in calligraphy and poetry) and the earthy routine (in crafts and technology), and evolved from the inseparability of wisdom and skills, philosophical content and decorative form" (Kobzev 2010; Pomeranceva 2004: 408).

Lografic script — one of the fundamental aspects of Chinese culture — evolved from the very heart of the archaic decorative art (Karapet'janc 2010: 67–71), and, despite all the transformations, still

preserves its visual-figurative origins and aesthetic functions. This ensured the superiority of calligraphy over painting not only as a very fine spiritual activity and a well-coordinated mind-body solution, but also as a form of a high art. "Chinese characters are literally and figuratively alpha and omega of Chinese culture, which is reflected in its definition: *wén* 文 is related to ART both etymologically (meaning 'pattern, ornament') and semantically (meaning 'character, script, literary language')" (Kobzev 2010). Chinese culture is therefore directly linked to its written signs, characters.

Wén-the-culture sought to assign universal and applied characteristics to all the existing forms of *wén*-the-art, expanding its spheres and merging it with cultural life, and embodied via literati, *wénrén* 文人, who were engaged in philosophy and science, poetry, civil service, calligraphy, painting, and music. "The main carrier of *wén*-the-culture, the Son of Heaven (*tiān zǐ* 天子), should ideally be consecrated by canonical (*jīng* 經) and philosophical (*zǐ* 子) Classics" (Kobzev 2010). Therefore, all outstanding leaders, including Máo Zédōng 毛澤東, aspired to prove themselves in art, especially in poetry and calligraphy, the latter remaining a tool for the political power in China today[4].

The calligraphy-oriented and, consequently, the aesthetics-oriented society provided the unprecedented homogeneity and stability of Chinese culture. There was no the dichotomy between the 'applied arts' and the 'fine arts', the cultural integrity was supported not only by rulers and elites, but also by common people, who could come into contact with various forms of art in their everyday life, from highly artistic calligraphy on doors and walls to local culinary and martial arts.

The continuum of art is as omnipresent as the *Dào* — which, according to the *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子, can be found in the ant, in the weeds, in a potsherd, in the excrement and urine — or as the Buddha, which can be found even in the dried human excrement-removing stick[5]

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[4] E.g., the removing of Jiāng Zémín's 江澤民 calligraphy at Shanghai military college in September 2015.

[5] *Gān shǐ jué* 幹屎橛 'dried excrement-wiping spatula' is the popular Chán 禪 Buddhist metaphor of abuse for someone who is attached to things (Muller 2017).

(Chan 1963: 203). The aesthetics and respect of lavatories in Chinese cultural tradition is therefore understandable, from worshipping the Toilet Goddess 廁神 Zǐgū 紫姑,[6] the usage of bamboo spatulas (*cèchóu* 廁籌, *cèbì* 廁箆, or *cèjiǎn* 廁簡) for personal hygene, and the presence of sumptuous lavatories among the amenities of wealth in the III century CE (Needham et al. 2000: 90), to the toilet theme in tomb art (Guo 2004: 22).

In MSM, ART is often expressed by the combinations of morphemes that conveyed this meaning already in *wényán*: *yìshù* 藝術 in a narrow and specific sense, and *jìyì* 技藝, *jìshù* 技術, *jìqiǎo* 技巧, *jìgōng* 技工, *jìdào* 技道, *yìdào* 藝道, *yìyè* 藝業 in a broad and generic sense (Kobzev 2010).

As regards the term 'aesthetics' (*měixué* 美學, lit. 'the study of beauty', *shěnměi* 審美, lit. 'to examine the beauty' > *shěnměixué* 審美學, lit. 'the study of investigating the beauty'), it derives from the morpheme *měi* 美[7] 'beauty', 'perfection', 'ideal', which is a component of another term for ART, especially FINE ARTS, *měishù* 美術, lit. 'technique of beauty'.

Contemporary Chinese terminology was developing during the first half of the 20th century. In foreign and Chinese etymological and philosophical dictionaries of the first decades of the 20th century, Eng. 'art' was assigned to the disyllabic terms as *jìyì* 技藝, *yìshù* 藝術 or *měishù* 美術 (Kobzev 2010), until in 1936 the *Cíhǎi* (辭海) assigned the meaning of English 'art' to the term *yìshù* 藝術, and glossed *měishù* 美術 as 'fine arts' (*Cíhǎi* 1994: 2536).

As a compound, *yìshù* 藝術 appeared already in a passage of the *Hòu Hàn Shū* 後漢書 (V century BC) and in the title of a section

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[6] Zǐgū 紫姑, lit. 'Purple Maiden', also known as 廁姑, 茅姑姑, 坑姑, 坑三姑 (BKRS), goddess worshipped on the 15th day of the first month as the Toilet Goddess 廁神. According to the legend, her original name was Hé Mèi 何媚, and she was killed by her husband Lǐ Jǐng 李景 in the latrine, where her spirit still remains. Her "invitation" 迎紫姑, the most important among the ceremonies in her honour, has been performed from the Táng Dynasty onward, and is accompanied by fortune-telling (Santangelo and Yan 2013: 575-577).

[7] Měi 美 could also be applied to talks and behaviour, meaning 'good'. Ethical and aesthetical meanings of měi were therefore undivided in traditional China (Pomeranceva 2004: 406).

in the *Jìn Shū* 晉書 (VII century BC); it mainly referred to such techniques and skills as the 'six arts' as well as the arts of alchemy and astrology (Kǒng 2011: 27). In the *Wèi Shū* 魏書 (VI century BC), weather foretellers, doctors and diviners are all categorised in the *Biography of Arts* 術藝列傳, with the metathesis *shùyì* 術藝 in the title. The term *yìshù* 藝術 in *wényán* "covered a much wider area than the same word in modern Chinese, basically referring to a big variety of skills and techniques. In other words, in the cultural and linguistic system of ancient China, there was no such a 'world of arts' independent of other areas as we understand it today" (Kǒng 2011: 27).

Despite the fact that westernization in the beginning of the XX century had a great impact on coinage of numerous phonetic renderings, such as *luóji* 邏輯 for 'logic', first employed by Yán Fù 嚴復 and later advocated by Zhāng Shìzhāo 章士釗 (Kurtz 2001: 167), or *yōumò* 幽默 for English *humour*, coined by Lín Yǔtáng 林語堂 in 1924 (Lin 2013: 53), the term for English *art* did not follow theirs pathway. According to Masini (1993: 213), contemporary term *yìshù* 藝術 is an original graphic loan from Japanese *geijutsu*, that used to indicate 'art' under Japanese influence. Gāo Míngkǎi and Liú Zhèngtàn classify it as a return loan from Japanese, giving the cited above examples from the *Hòu Hàn Shū* and *Jìn Shū* (Gāo and Liú 1958: 84). To my understanding, *yìshù* 藝術 in contemporary Chinese can be treated as an indirect revival (a term suggested by Hsieh and Hsu 2006: 60), that is, the meaning is half ancient Chinese, half modern western notion and is combined in Japanese, just like the term 學士 (OC 'intellectual, scholar'; 'title of an officer' > MSM 'a Bachelor of Arts or Science degree holder'), introduced from Japanese *gakushi* with a western notion and Chinese form.

It is of fundamental importance that in the modern lexicon the equivalent for English *art* is a compound that conveys the traditional multidimensional understanding of ART in China. As Kobzev (2010) points out, Western analogues of this concept went through a similar development. Derived from Latin *ars* — which besides 'art' also means 'science', 'theory', 'rules', 'mastery', 'craftsmanship', 'morality', 'cunning', — English *art* includes 'fine arts', 'craftsmanship', 'human sciences' (e.g., 'Bachelor of Arts'), 'cunning', and 'magic'

(e.g., black art, hermetic art), 'art of healing', 'culinary art', 'military art'. Not only French *art* and Russian *артистизм*, but also their synonyms that derive from other roots, such as German *Kunst* and Russian *искусство*, share the same semantics.

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Култура и изкуство

Culture and Art

A Cultural Industry Park – The New Secular Modus Vivendi of the Sacred Mountain Taishan? (Part I)

Evelina Hein

Abstract

The paper discusses the "Taishan Cultural Industry Park" project as an example of the instrumentalization of cultural tradition in the PRC's current economic policy. Part I outlines the historical context of the cults related to this mountain, which have led to the present privileged position of Taishan on the cultural map of China. The paper analyzes the reasons Taishan was selected as one of the points of intersection between culture and economy in the context of the cultural industry policies. Part II (forthcoming) will trace the contemporary development of the "Taishan Cultural Industry Park" project as an element of a network of projects in the region, all of which aim at increasing the region's economic power. The paper points out examples of the involvement of this particular project, and of Taishan as a national symbol, with various organizations and other current campaigns aimed at utilizing Chinese cultural tradition as an economic resource for enhancing the international competitiveness of the modern Chinese state.

The year 2017 marks the thirtieth anniversary since UNESCO inscribed the mountain Taishan (泰山), China, on the World Cultural and Natural Heritage List (UNESCO 2017). This jubilee is an occasion for reflecting on the place of Taishan in the present-day cultural landscape of the People's Republic of China (PRC), where tradition and modernity coexist in a symbiosis that is in part natural and in part purposely made and maintained.

An additional, indirect occasion for these reflections is the metaphor of conflict between the Old and the New, brilliantly developed by Neil Gaiman in his bestseller *American Gods* (Gaiman 2004). In the novel, the holy Lookout Mountain is set to be the place of battle between the gods of antiquity and those of modern times,

but the bloodshed is eventually averted. The narrative about how the direct clash between the Old and the New is avoided offers the opportunity for an extraneous but fruitful, transcultural reading of the current situation of Taishan, a sacred mountain for the Chinese.

Similar to the story in *American Gods*, where the survival of the ancient mythologies and religions in the present day is at stake, in Taishan in the 20th and 21st century, thousand-year old religious and cultural traditions meet with modern ideologies and economic programs devised in the course of the intense development of the PRC. This incites our interest in the ways of interaction of the participants in this process, who include: the central and local government, the intellectual elite, the cultural institutions, business people, the residents of the region. The question also arises whether the inherently conflictive potential of such relations can at all, and how far, be alleviated through the principle of inclusiveness (包容性), which is traditionally highly valued in Chinese official philosophical and cultural discourse.

In other words, can Taishan, the sacred mountain and symbol of Chinese statehood and national identity, preserve its centuries-old traditions in the 21st century? These traditions have given the mountain a privileged place on the cultural map of the country. At the same time, will this "soul of the Chinese nation" (华夏之魂) (Yang 2013), its "spiritual haven" (精神归宿地) (Liu 2013) manage to fit in the current economic, ideological and cultural situation of PRC without losing its unique cultural and natural identity?

In order to provide possible answers to these questions, we would have to examine in depth the history of the complex cult of Taishan. The scope of this presentation allows only a cursory view of the basic elements and stages of the cult's development.

The mountain Taishan is situated in the eastern Chinese province Shandong (山东省), where, despite its relatively modest height of 1,545 m[1] it is an imposing sight amidst the flat terrain of the region. Taishan is acknowledged by all Chinese people as the most important of the sacred mountains of China, due not so much to its geographical dimensions as to the exceptional density of its historical and cultural

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[1] Data from UNESCO (UNESCO 2017)

references. The set of cults associated with the region have resulted from the development of elements of the ancient Chinese worldview and its related religious and political practices through the centuries.

It is believed that the cult of Taishan became part of Chinese civilization not later than the time of the neolithic Yangshao culture[2] (仰韶文化) (Ye 2009). The oldest extant examples of Chinese writing – the so-called oracle-bone inscriptions (甲骨文), related to divination rituals from the time of the Shang dynasty[3] (商朝), mention along with a number of ordinary mountains (山), a "particularly steep and high mountain" (岳) as a central place for contact with the Supreme Deity in the ancient cult of the sun (Xiang, Li 2016: 137; Wang 2001: 40-41).

In the time of the next dynasty, Zhou[4] (周朝), with the elaboration of state ritual practices, the rituals related to the cult of mountains were systematized. The core of the cult in this age was the faith that the mountains are deities themselves to whom sacrificial gifts should be made to ensure their benevolence (Ye 2009).

The earliest documented mention of the mountain Taishan is found in the fourth song of the section Hymns to the Kingdom of Lu (鲁颂) in the Book of Songs[5] (诗经), the most ancient anthology of Chinese poetry (Ye 2009). In the text "The Temple Bigong" (鲁颂·閟宫), which eulogizes the ancestors of the local ruler, it is written that "The mountain of Da is lofty, Looked up to by the State of Lu"[6] (泰山岩岩，鲁邦所詹). Recognizable in this verse is the regional character of the cult of the mountain Taishan, held sacred by the ancestors of the kingdom of Lu (Ye 2009).

In written testimonies related to the Warring States period[7] (战国时期) Taishan is mentioned as one of the five particularly steep and high mountains (五岳), viewed as spatial symbols of the political and cultural unity of the lands ruled by the Zhou dynasty (Xiang, Li 2016: 138). In the same period, the Five Mountains

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[2] In the period 6,000 – 4,400 BC.

[3] Circa 17th – 11th cent. BC.

[4] 11th – 3rd cent. BC.

[5] It is believed to contain poetical texts of the period 10th – 7th century BC.

[6] Translation by James Legge's. (Legge 1898)

[7] 5th – 3rd cent.

were associated with the philosopher Zou Yan's[8] (邹衍) Doctrine of Five-virtue Circulation[9] (五德终始说)．In the framework of this conception, and in line with the ancient cult of the sun (Wang 2001:39–44), Taishan, the Eastern Great Mountain[10] is associated with the representation of the East as a source of Life. The mountain is revered as "the Beginning of the myriad things" (万物之始) and a place where the transformation of opposites takes place (交代之处) (Ma 2014:19). This view of the complex, dynamic nature of the universe, underlying the teaching of the Yellow Emperor and the philosophy of Laozi (黄老学说), served as the basis of religious Taoism, which would become one of the elements defining the spiritual atmosphere of Taishan in the following centuries. The mountain itself was even included in the esoteric map of China, as the second of the 36 small "cave heaven or heavenly abode" (洞天), which according to Taoist mythology, were ideal places for cultivating the body and mind (Wan 2012; Xiong 2012).

A new stage in the history of Taishan began in 221 BC with the unification of China under Ying Zheng (嬴政)，ruler of the kingdom of Qin, who was declared First Emperor of the Qin dynasty (Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝). In harmony with the concept of the cyclical manifestation of the Five Virtues and the change of dynasties they determined, the mountain Taishan, "the beginning of the myriad things", was chosen by Qin Shihuangdi[11] as the location for official sacrifices to the Heaven and Earth (*fengshan* sacrifices)[12] (封禅)

Qin Shihuangdi turned to antiquity in search for a suitable historical context of the epoch-making unification of China and fixed on the idea of sacrifices to the Heaven and Earth. According

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[8]   Circa 305 – 240 BC.

[9]   This is a conception of the cyclical course of the Five Virtues embodied in the Five Elements.

[10] Taishan was first mentioned by this name in the oldest preserved Chinese dictionary "Erya" (尔雅), which mentions, "Taishan is the Eastern Great Montain" (泰山为东岳) (Erya 2012).

[11] In Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian,* from the 1st cent. BC, it is pointed out that Qin Shihuangdi was acquainted with the ideas of Zou Yan. (Sima 1986: vol. 4:160)

[12] On the etymology of "fengshan" see Sima 1986: vol. 4: 290–291

to the historical chronicles, seventy-two legendary rulers in ancient times had performed such a ritual on the peak of Taishan; the ritual symbolized their connection with Heaven and their worthy fulfillment of the Heavenly mandate [13] (天命). In reviving this almost forgotten tradition in 219 BC, Qin Shihuangdi clearly claimed the legitimacy of his dynasty as direct heir of the ancient ruler families (Sima 1986: vol. 2: 66–67; Sima 2016:6).

Thus, he breathed new life into the ancient *fengshan* sacrifices, elevating them to the status of an emperor's cult. This cult would be exercised for more than two thousand years and would be officially revoked as late as 1928 by a decree of the republican government of that time after the end of the last imperial dynasty, Qing[14] (清朝) (Liu, Jiang 2015). Thanks to Qin Shihuangdi, Taishan acquired transregional importance, a new, national significance, and in the following centuries became more and more closely tied to the idea of a centralized state as the supreme expression of the Chinese civilizational community. Once it had become a symbol of the power and stability of the Chinese state, Taishan became a cultural phenomenon that outlived both the *fengshan* sacrifices, a cult that had placed the mountain at the top rank of the holy hierarchy of imperial China, and imperial China itself. This development was largely due to the complex nature of reverence for Taishan; in the framework of the complex cult, there were additional cults nourished more by the popular than by the elite culture of China.

For centuries, the mountain Taishan's own deity (泰山神) was central to the complex set of cults. This deity originated in the ancient divinization of nature, typical for prehistoric human societies. Later, with the formation of Taoism as a religion at the time of the Han dynasty[15] (汉朝), the god of Taishan was included in the Taoist pantheon under the name of Great Emperor of the Sacred Mountain of the East (东岳大帝), who determined the destinies of humans during their lives and was responsible for their souls after death (Wu 2006: 135). The Taishan deity was revered in popular religion as well,

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[13] In *Records of the Grand Historian* Sima Qian presents a detailed history of these sacrifices in antiquity (Sima 1986: vol.4:153–157; Sima 2016: 28)

[14] 17th – 20th cent. AD.

[15] 3rd cent. BC – 3rd cent. AD.

as the grandson of the Heavenly Emperor himself and as a supreme ruler of thousands of divinities and demons (Wan 2012; Taian 2016). The authority of the Great Emperor of the Sacred Mountain of the East was so significant in China that esoteric Buddhism also included him in its pantheon, where the deity was worshipped as the son of King Yanluo (阎罗王), ruler of Hell (Taian 2016). The present-day existence of temples dedicated to this deity in the region of the mountain, throughout China (Zhou 2008), even in Taiwan (Tainan 2017) and in Chinese communities abroad, such as in Singapore for example (Tang 2017), testifies to the deity's continuing popularity in our time.

The other object of reverence in Taishan was a female deity known among the people by various names, one of which was the Mother from Taishan (泰山娘娘). Her cult began in the time of the Song dynasty[16] (宋朝) after the emperor Zhengzong of Song (宋真宗) discovered accidentally in 1008 AD a statue of the so-called Jade Maiden (玉女), the traditional reverence for which goes back to the time of the Han dynasty (汉代). At the time of the Ming dynasty[17] (明朝) this goddess had become part of the Taoist pantheon under the official name of "Heavenly Immortal Jade Maiden and Primordial Lady of the Emerald Cloud" (东岳泰山天仙玉女碧霞元君). Although there was at first no connection between her and the Taishan deity, they gradually became father and daughter in popular genealogy. In time, the fame of the Mother from Taishan overshadowed that of the Great Emperor of the Sacred Mountain of the East. Indeed, at the time of the Ming and Qing dynasties, the mountain Taishan was revered by the common people, and especially by women, mainly as a place of worship of this goddess. The main functions of the Mother of Taishan was to endow people with posterity, to heal, to convince people of the need to do good, to defend the country and the whole nation from disasters (Ye 2007).

The third most famous divine figure is "Stone of Taishan Dares to Resist" (泰山石敢当). In popular belief, he is a deity who repulses the forces of evil. That is why depictions of him or stones inscribed

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[16] 10th – 13th cent. AD.

[17] 14th – 17th cent. AD.

with his name are popular good luck amulets in continental China and in Chinese communities across the world. There are various theories as to the origin of this deity, but his worship is certainly connected with the prehistoric cult of stone and the use of stone in magic rituals (Ma 1993). Over the centuries, the belief in the magical virtues of stone became part of the cult of Taishan (Cui 2012: 32–36). Following the principle of the part representing the whole, the Taishan stone embodies the sacred mountain itself and performs all its symbolic functions (Taian 2016).

Regardless of the changing roles played by the mountain Taishan and its deities during the centuries (Lü 2014), the mountain generally retained its importance for a large part of the population of China. A basic reason for this is that the cult of Taishan was linked to universal themes of the beginning and end of life and the invariable values of health, posterity, and well-being.

This universal validity, beyond the specific beliefs and events, makes it possible to worship Taishan to this day as a "totem of the nation" (华夏图腾). At the beginning of the 21st century, the Chinese continue to consider the mountain a symbol of the national spirit. At the political level, it has grown into a symbol of the unity, stability and progress of the state. In the philosophical aspect, Taishan is a focus of the concept of man's harmony with the universe, which makes of the mountain a symbol of the vitality of the Chinese nation. In a moral aspect Taishan is seen as an embodiment of magnanimity and tolerance, lauded as core virtues in the traditional Chinese ethics. From an esthetical viewpoint, to Taishan is ascribed a beauty that embodies the Yang principle (阳刚之美) (Yang 2013).

The significance of Taishan as a lofty symbol of China, a symbol equally important as are the Yellow River and the Great Wall of China, has a practical dimension as well. The latest cultural policy of the Chinese state has increasingly capitalized on the mountain's fame as a site figuring in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage list. In line with the current global trend of evaluating culture as "an inseparable and sustainable dimension of human development" and an important factor of the prosperity of communities (WCCD 1996; UNESCO 2002; UNESCO 2011:3), PRC is purposely integrating its culture and economy to the benefit of state power. These approaches

are argued in terms of the concept of cultural industry[18], as the core of the cultural policy of PRC in the last decade (Kyoo 2013).

A suitable illustration of this conception is the project of turning Taishan into a "cultural industry park". The implementation of the project began officially in 2009 in accordance with the Chinese state strategy of "redefining culture as a resource that can be absorbed for the benefit of economic development" (Garner 2015: 3). The ambitious plan includes different aspects of the sacred area Taishan in the vision of harmony between history, the present time, culture and economy (Hein 2013: 177–178). The combination of commerce, pilgrimage, tourism, recreation, and performing arts works for building the trademark "Taishan culture" (泰山文化品牌) as commensurable with international standards and international turnover[19].

We could say that the mountain Taishan, similar to Confucius, the other official emblem of Chinese cultural identity, functions in our time as a channel of a kind of "trademark of identity, values and meanings" from China to the global market (Garner 2015: 28–29).

The second forthcoming part of the article will attempt to shed light on the question of the preservation of Taishan as a sacred site in the desacralized space of cultural industry; for this purpose, we will consider the park as a link in the national economic and ideological network of projects and campaigns for commodifying Chinese cultural heritage.

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[18] For more on the discussions concerning the concept, see Throsby 2008.

[19] For instance, Taishan and the famous French site Mont Saint-Michel are both on UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage list and are also "friend mountains" (友好山) (Tan 2016)

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Chinese and Japanese Understandings
of the Relation between Nature and Music

Miglena Tzenova-Nusheva

Abstract

   The relation between nature and music, understood as consistency, indivisibility, interdependence, etc., is decisive for both Chinese and Japanese understandings of music. The study focuses on how the relation between nature and music affects Chinese and Japanese music. Analogies and specifics are outlined. Examples of Jingju and Kabuki are discussed.

   The text is based on recent musical theoretical studies, publications dedicated to Chinese and Japanese mythology, research works on Chinese and Japanese symbols, and other sources. It offers author's comments, interpretations, etc.

   An interdisciplinary approach, which encompasses perspectives of historical, comparative, socio-anthropological, ethnological, etc. knowledge, is applied.

   Keywords: relation between nature and music, Chinese understandings of music, Japanese understandings of music, Chinese musical instruments, Japanese musical instruments, Chinese musical modes, Japanese musical modes, Peking opera Jingju, traditional Japanese Kabuki theatre

> *Nature and music are to be appreciated together,*
> *For music is considered as a subset of nature.*
> Genichi Tsuge (Genichi 1981: 109-123)

   Considering the time scheduled for presenting the given research, I will only focus on several aspects proving the relation between Nature and music according to Chinese and Japanese understandings.

   The idea of connection between Nature and music is found in the Chinese cosmogonic myths (Hin-Shun 1994, Shestakov 1967, Tkachenko 1990, Tokarev 1987, Tokarev 1988, Tzenova 1997, Tzenova-Nusheva 2010 a, Tzenova-Nusheva 2010 b, Tzenova-Nusheva 2013 and others). I would like to recall an interesting

fact from Chinese mythology: the creation of the first sound was a result of the magical fertile merging of heaven and earth. Traditional Chinese musical instruments are strongly connected to Nature too. The musical instruments are made of eight[1] natural materials, and their sound depends on eight sounding winds. These eight sounding winds carry the sounds to all parts of the world (*Ibidem*).

The quoted 'abstract in the beginning draws attention to the Japanese notion that music can't be separated or viewed apart from nature (Genichi 1981: 109–123). When a given piece of music is accompanied by a sound from nature, a bird's song, for example, or a splash of waves, etc., then that piece of music brings superior aesthetic delight. Traditional Japanese musical instruments, the prototypes of which are mostly[2] Chinese (Malm 1963, Malm 2013, Tokita et al. 2008 and others), have in their sounding many sounds, which resemble wind, a human's breath, the rustle of leaves and many more.

The connection between music and nature, which is found in the timbres of traditional Chinese and Japanese musical instruments, could be seen as an example of the realization of the ideal of connectivity between music and nature.

For further visualization of the Japanese ideal of music being connected to Nature, many excerpts from the Japanese novel *Genji Monogatari*[3] (in Japanese: 源氏物語, from the XI-th century), by Murasaki Shikibu, could serve as examples. I will quote one such excerpt:

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[1] For more on numerical symbolism in ancient Chinese written memorials and its application in the Chinese music of *Jīngjù* see also: (Walker 1992; Chevalier 1995; Chevalier 1996; Eberhard 2005; Sychev 1972; Tzenova 1997, Tzenova-Nusheva 2010 b, etc.)

[2] According to Grigorovich, it's possible that the prototype of the *koto* zither (琴) is Japanese. Her statement is based on three historical evidence (Grigorovich 2011: 100–109).

[3] *Genji Monogatari* is translated as *The Tale of Genji*. In 1951, *Kabuki* theatre makes a performance named *Genji Monogatari*, performed in the same year in the *Kabukiza* theatre in Tokyo. Among the actors performing were the famous Ichikava Danjuro 11th and Kikugoro 7th (*A Graceful Onnagata Actor* 2009–2017, etc.)

"(…) the music began, when the brilliant moon rose, (…) The [lute] *biwa* and the [zither] *wagon*, [a prototype of *koto*], were the only string instruments, but there were [in the performance also played] several expert flutists, whose music nicely caught the mood of the moment, while the wind sang with them along the river, and the moon soared high in the carefree night"[4] (Murasaki 2006).

The quoted excerpt visually, and simultaneously discreetly and in a natural manner, depicts the unity between nature and music, seen as an accomplished aesthetic ideal.

According to Chinese beliefs, a masterfully played piece of music could even alter the seasons, because every season has certain corresponding tones, which are played on a given string (for example, on the five-string prototype of the *gŭqín*[5] instrument 古琴). Such phenomena are described in many ancient Chinese treatises: "*Lyushi Chunqiu*", "*Sun Tzu*" and many others (Hin-Shun 1994, Shestakov 1967, Tkachenko 1990, Tokarev 1987, Tokarev 1988, Tzenova 1997, etc.). In these cases, music influences nature, most probably due to the primordial connection between music and nature.

Each of the tones in Chinese pentatonic scale has a corresponding: a season, a cardinal direction, a planet, a colour, a phenomenon in nature, etc. Here, we should mention that according to Chinese understandings, the seasons are five: spring, summer, midsummer, autumn, winter. The cardinal directions are also five: east, west, north, south, central. The central cardinal direction (or the Centre) and midsummer season are considered to be most important and this is why they correspond to the lowest tone of the Chinese pentatonic scale – the tone *gōng* (宫) (**Figure 1**).

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[4] Although, the suggest translation is rendered through English, the elegance, poetry, and musicality of the literary style in *Genji Monogatari* are discernable.

[5] A traditional Chinese musical instrument, symbol of high Chinese culture. The sound of *gŭqín* helps studying. Before it can be bent in the right shape, the wood is dried in a shade for five years. *Gŭqín* has applications in instrumental ensembles that accompany *Jīngjù* performances, Chinese local operas and many more.

Figure 1. Correspondence of tones in the Chinese pentatonic scale (according to Shneerson 1972, Tzenova-Nusheva 2010 b: 357)[6]

Name of tone in the pentatonic scale	Season	Cardinal direction	Planet	Natural element	Colour in Nature	Natural pheno-menon
Gong (宫)	Midsummer	Central	Saturn	Earth	Yellow	Wind
Shāng (商)	Autumn	West	Venus	Metal	White	Cold(ness)
Jué (角)	Spring	East	Jupiter	Wood	Green	Heat
Zhǐ (徵)	Summer	South	Mars	Fire	Red	Light
Yǔ (羽)	Winter	North	Mercury	Water	Black	Rain

The existence of such tightly related connections between sounds, seasons, directions, colours, etc., offers an opportunity for expression through symbols, and is especially graceful for delivering messages across to the audience in traditional opera genres, such as the Peking opera *Jīngjù* (京剧)[7].

A mode could be built on every tone in the Chinese pentatonic scale. The mode acquires the same accordance as the given tone on

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[6] Shneerson equals the lowest tone of the Chinese pentatonic scale to *E/mi* (Shneerson 1972). According to Apel, the more common pentatonic scale in China is in the relationship of *fa-sol-la-do-re* (Apel 1969: 155). Malm suggests that the lowest tone of the Japanese pentatonic scale be equaled to *D/re* (Malm 2000). In studies of Bulgarian authors, the lowest tone in the pentatonic scale, typical for China, Japan and other countries, could be found equaled to *C/do* (Hadzhiev 1994). These peculiarities are important and would be researched further.

[7] Emperor Qiánlóng of the *Qing* dynasty made an important contribution for the creation of *Jīngjù*. The hieroglyph "lóng" (隆) in the emperor's name has a musical meaning – "majestic sound, played by a drum". The emperor himself could play the drum and other percussions and could conduct ensembles for the Chinese opera (Tzenova-Nusheva 2009, Tzenova-Nusheva 2010 b etc.). On the occasion of his 80th anniversary (1790), he had invited to Peking the most famous Chinese opera troupes and travelling actors from all over the country. For months, together, they gave performances publicly and in the same year the Peking opera was created (*Ibidem*).

which it is built (***Figure 1***). Because of the significance of the first tone of the pentatonic scale – *gōng*, the most important mode is the one that is built on the lowest tone of the scale according to Chinese beliefs. (Shestakov 1972: 185[8]; Tzenova 1997; Tzenova-Nusheva 2010 b: 60–71). Accordingly, the least important mode is the one built on the fifth (highest) tone of the pentatonic scale (*Ibidem)*.

In the quoted Japanese novel *Genji Monogatari*, several Japanese modes are also discussed as suitable to be performed in different seasons throughout the year: *sojo* – representing the "spring mood" (Murasaki 2006), *oshiki* – suitable for early summer, *ichikotsu* – most often played at the height of summer, *hyojo* – a mode, associated with early autumn; and *banshiki* – a mode, played in winter, rarely in late autumn (*Ibidem*). In *Genji Monogatari* the modes in question are described as part of the narration in which, often, it's as if "a beautiful palace music" is played – *Gagaku* (雅楽) or *gaku* (楽), for short (literally – *music*).

Figure 2. Correspondence of Japanese pentatonic scales with annual seasons. The correspondences refer to the performance of *Gagaku* (according to Murasaki 2006). See also: (Malm, 2000: 113–114, Tzenova-Nusheva, 2017)

Name of the mode	Tone off which the mode is built (Lowest tone of the mode)	Type	Season
Sojo	Sojo (D/re)	Major (ryo)	Spring
Oshiki	Oshiki (G/sol)	Major (ryo)	Early summer
Ichikotsu	Ichikotsu (A/la)	Minor (ritsu)	Height of summer
Hyojo	Hyojo (E/mi)	Minor (ritsu)	Early autumn
Banshiki	Banshiki (B/si)	Minor (ritsu)	Winter, rarely late autumn

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[8] See Ji-hen Syui. *Brief History of Chinese Music*. Shanghai, 1939: 6–8, quot.: (Shestakov 1967: 141).

According to *Genji Monogatari*, Japanese modes, unlike Chinese modes, are associated with a particular season; not in accordance with the pitch of the tone, on which they are built, but in accordance with the type of the mode (major or minor). From this, it should be mentioned, that the use of Japanese modes in the music of traditional Japanese *Kabuki* theatre (歌舞伎)[9] is different compared to the use of modes used when playing *Gagaku*. If we listen closely to the music of one of the most popular examples from the repertoire of the *Kabuki* genre – the dance drama (*shyosagoto) Musume Dojoji* (娘道成寺), we will notice that the music there is built on the *hyojo* mode, which, in turn, is built on the *hyojo* (E/mi) note from the small octave[10]. Although, when performing *Gagaku*, the *hyojo* mode is associated with the season of early autumn, in *Musume Dojoji*, *hyojo* is especially fitting for the recreation of early summer, during which the action of this drama takes place. In *Musume Dojoji*, the *hyojo* combines beautifully with the *sakura* imagery, which is typical for the design of the stage and for the costumes of the main female character – the gorgeous young lady *Hanako*. With its minor nature, the *hyojo* mode sets a somehow melancholic mood from the beginning of the performance. This mood is in harmony with *Hanako'*s upcoming misery, the result of her unrequited love for a Buddhist monk, which leads her to losing her human appearance, in the end of the play. What stands out is that from all the minor modes in Japanese music, the mode which is built on the lowest tone of the pentatonic scale

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[9] In 1596, Izumo no Okuni (出雲阿国) started performing short theatrical plays and did public performances, and the idea being to collect benefits for the Izumo-taisha shrine (出雲大社) (*The Roots of Kabuki*, 2011). Thus, in 1603, the *Kabuki* theatre was created. Preserved images of her performances show the constant presence of musicians on the stage (Malm 1963, Tokita et al. 2008). Okuni herself is often depicted with a little gong in her hands (Malm 1963). Both *Jīngjù* and *Kabuki,* at first, were conceived to be played in the open public. It's possible that exactly the achieved unification of music and nature in the opera and theatre performances have created the needed circumstances for the audience's fuller experience.

[10] The vocal range in *Musume Dojoji* starts from *hyojo* (E/mi) in small octave (rarely from *ichikotsu* (D/re) in small octave, probably as an underlying tone for the *hyojo* mode) up to *shyosetsu* (F/fa) – *sojo* (G/sol) in first octave (Tzenova-Nusheva 2017).

(**Figure 2**) is preferred the most. This brings the mode organization in *Musume Dojoji* closer to the Chinese correlations of the pitch of the tone and the seasons. Probably, the choice of the lowest possible root note on which to build the given mode, is conformed to the Chinese principle of the importance of the lowest tones in the pentatonic scale and their correlations in nature (**Figure 1**).

To conclude, studying Chinese and Japanese music shows that Chinese and Japanese notions of relation between nature and music have a central place in constructing and performing Chinese and Japanese musical performances. The unity of nature and music gives the audience opportunities to completely perceive and experience these performances.

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Is the Lotus in the Han Wei Jin Tombs a Foreign Motif?

Nataša Vampelj Suhadolnik

Abstract

The lotus motif appears on the ceiling of the tombs toward the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 AD), becoming a rather common pattern on the ceiling of the Wei and Western Jin period tombs (220-317). Its appearance is generally associated with the spreading of Buddhism in China and its presence in the tombs may allude to a Buddhist origin or at least foreign associations. While some scholars express their serious doubts about the lotus flower as a motif with a Buddhist scent, others interpret it as a reflection of Buddhist art, and the third ones believe that the lotus in its early phase of appearance merely plays the role of an embellishment.

To find the answers, it is necessary to consider the lotus as a part of the integral iconographic scheme. The location of the lotus is particularly relevant and thereby also the linkage of the architectural design with the painting scene. A thorough analysis and survey of the interior of the Han and Wei Jin tombs with paintings reveal that mural scenes with the grave chamber construction and other artistic burial objects represented the entire cosmos – thus the soul of the deceased was able to attain immortality in the ever changing but never ending cosmos.

Considering the above mentioned elements, a reinterpretation of the lotus motif in the Han Wei Jin tombs reveals that the motif is rooted in the early Chinese tradition and does not certainly represent an embellishment only, but contains a precise meaning closely linked to the cosmic nature and the concept of immortality and thus helps transforming a tomb into a paradise for the deceased.

Keywords: Lotus, Han Wei Jin Tombs, Buddhism, Foreign Motif, Sun, Cosmology

Introduction[1]

The lotus motif appears on the ceiling of the tombs toward the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD), becoming a rather common pattern on the ceiling of the Wei and Western Jin period tombs (220–317). Its appearance coincides with Buddhist activities, and is thus generally associated with the spread of Buddhism in China, and assumed to be of Buddhist or some other foreign origin. Scholars are divided as to whether the lotus flower has a Buddhist origin (see Zhang 1979; Zheng 2002: 168) or is a reflection of Buddhist art (Li 2005; He 2001), while still others consider its early form to be merely an embellishment (Dai 1998)[2].

Instead, I would like to suggest, and will now attempt to demonstrate, that the lotus in the Hexi district derives from traditional motifs in the central regions of the Chinese territory. This motif is deeply rooted in the early Chinese tradition and most probably developed from solar imagery, with the sun's rays shining around the obscure underworld. In attempting to demonstrate its origins, we should bear in mind two fundamental facts: 1) the position of the lotus at the top of the vaulted ceiling; 2) the integral iconographic scheme and thus the juxtaposition of the lotus with other motifs.

Depiction of the lotus

the lotus blossom at the top of the vaulted chamber is generally depicted on the central, flat and square "well" type ceiling stone, called *zaojing* 藻井. It not only recurs in several Wei Jin tombs in Gansu, but has precursors in the Eastern Han dynasty tombs, situated mostly in the central and eastern part of the Chinese territory.[3]

It is generally depicted as an individual motif in the middle of the ceiling (Fig. 1), while there are also a few tombs showing

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[1] This paper is the abridged, revised version of an article entitled 'A Reinterpretation of the Lotus in the Han Wei Jin Tombs'. See Vampelj Suhadolnik 2011: 75–100.

[2] For a detailed discussion on Buddhist elements in early Chinese art, see Wu Hung (1986).

[3] For statistical data, see Vampelj Suhadolnik 2011: 78–80.

more elaborated iconographic design surrounding the lotus flower. It can be seen in the company of strange animals, birds, fish, wild beasts, dragons, the sun and the moon, *Fuxi* 伏羲 and *Nüwa* 女娲 and immortals. In the famous Yi'nan Tomb, besides an open eight- and four-petal lotus on the square "well" type ceiling, a row of lotuses appears on the horizontal girdle on the upper part of the northern wall in the front chamber. A survey of the various lotuses that appear in the Han Wei Jin tombs reveals that this motif is generally situated: 1) at the top of the tomb, in the middle of the vaulted ceiling structure and over a square chamber; 2) on the *zaojing*; 3) on the spot previously occupied by the sun and moon; 4) often juxtaposed with a small latticed window of a regular square design, as well as celestial bodies and beings, animals and birds. In nearly all examples, the lotus blossom has eight petals that extend symmetrically from the central seed pod, which is usually designed by means of small circles.

Fig. 1. Lotus in Foyemiaowan Tomb no. 133, Gansu (Source: Dai 1998: plate 11)

The examples found in Eastern Han tombs have individual petal shapes, while those in Wei and Western Jin tombs are more elaborate, with multi-layered petals, even though maintaining more or less the same shape as those of the Central Plain. There is a notable similarity between the petal shape of the Eastern Han Dahuting tomb in Henan (Fig. 2), and the Western Jin tombs at Foyemiaowan (Fig. 1), near Dunhuang, suggesting that the Eastern Han lotus design was effectively transferred to the western tombs in the Gansu province. At this point it is necessary to mention that the tomb structure and pictorial scheme of the Wei Jin tombs in Gansu reveal a strong link

with the Han tradition[4]. It is thus quite likely that the lotus design which was predominant in various areas during the Eastern Han, also continued to be used regularly in the Wei Jin tombs.

Fig. 2. Dahuting Tomb no. 2, Henan (Source: Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 1993: caiban 彩版 9)

Origins of the Lotus in The *Zaojing*

As already demonstrated by the Japanese scholar Uehara Kazu (1994) the depiction of the lotus in the tomb`s *zaojing* during the Eastern Han was a common practice in that period. He claims the appearance of the lotus design in the *zaojing* has its origin in the early Han Chinese architecture of the palaces. Uehara cites as evidence the following references: Wang Yanshou`s 王延壽 poem on the Lingguang hall[5] (魯靈光殿賦), Zhang Heng`s 張衡 *Rhapsody on the Western Metropolis* (西京賦) and the *Rhapsody on the Hall of Great Blessings* (景福殿賦), by He Yan 何晏.

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[4] After Han forces expelled the Xiongnu from the Hexi region in the 2nd century BC, this region became one of the key strategic areas for the Han Empire. The mass migration from the Central Plain to this region, which was already underway during the Western Han period, increased with the decline of the Han. A consequence of this major westerly migration was the transmission of Han culture, which began to flourish again with economic stability. The Han and Wei Jin tombs in the Gansu region, which were excavated during the last 60 years, testify to this phenomenon, with tomb structure and pictorial material confirming such influence.

[5] 'Reverse-planted lotus in a round pond, with a square well, emanates its glory and flourishes in full bloom, in an open lotus flower. On the green lotus seed-pod, purple seeds protrude, hanging down like pearls' 圓淵方井，反植荷蕖。發秀吐榮，菡萏披敷。綠房紫菂，窊咤垂珠。 (Xiao 1977: 170).

The reverse-planted lotus flower on palace ceilings thus seems to have been fairly common during Han, while archaeological excavations confirm its appearance on tomb ceilings as well. Moreover, along with the eight-petal pattern, there was also a four-petal pattern. Actually, this four-petal pattern, which is designated as a *shidiwen* 柿蒂纹 design ('persimmon calyx') or *siyewen* 四叶纹 ('four-petal pattern') in archaeological reports, was a common motif that emerged during the Warring States Period (476–221 BC), becoming widely diffused during the Han Dynasty. It frequently appears in the middle of bronze mirrors or on lacquered vessels, coffins or facial masks. It has been suggested that this four-petal flower pattern is actually a lotus blossom, especially since it was quite common in the southern Chu region, known for its strong attachment to the lotus flower (Tian 2005; Zhang 2002, Hayashi 1999 and 2000). It was always situated at the top of objects or at the top of round tombs. In his discussion on the complex cosmological design of bronze mirrors, Zhang (2002: 5–6) affirms that the decoration of the upper parts of objects would indicate its function as symbolising the celestial canopy.

The Lotus and the Sun

However, once we agree that the four or eight-petal flower on the ceiling is a lotus, we must next determine its precise function and meaning within the tomb structure. Its role as a kind of talisman against fire, as suggested in the *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (Ying 2010: 575), appears as highly unlikely, given that tombs with lotuses are mostly built of bricks and stones. In this regard, Zhang Zai's claim 張載, in his discussion of the reverse-planted lotus passage in the *Rhapsody on the Hall of Spiritual Light in the State of Lu,* that the lotus is planted in a round pond with a square well in order to diffuse the brilliance of its light, is highly significant.[6] Hayashi Minao (1999: 84) cites several references from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods (220–589), which refer to the lotus in terms of the light of the sun and

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[6] 'Erya says: the lotus flower is planted in the middle of the round pond and square well, in order to radiate brilliance' 爾雅曰：荷，芙蕖，種之於員淵方井之中，以爲光輝 (Xiao 1977: 170).

moon. In this context, a citation from *Huainanzi* 淮南子 reinforces the connection between the sun and the lotus. "The Ruo Tree is to the west of the Jian Tree. On its branches are ten suns; its blossoms cast light upon the earth[7]" (He 1998: 329). An Eastern Han commentator, Gao You 高诱, notes: "Mo (branches) means tip, on the tips of the Ruo Tree are ten suns, they look like lotuses"[8] (He 1998: 329). A visual representation can be found on the stone relief carvings from the Wu Shrines, where the suns in the mulberry tree are depicted as birds circling around the crown or perching on branches, while the shape of the birds (leaves) among the branches resembles the lotus flower, which also appears at the tips of the branches (Fig. 3).
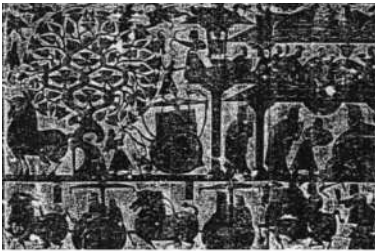
Fig. 3. The Fusang tree with Hou Yi, stone relief carving from the Wu shrines, scene in the Front Chamber (Source: Wu 1989: 57)

Similarly, a survey of archaeological materials in tombs featuring lotus patterns on the ceiling reveals a strong link between the sun and the lotus, suggesting that the lotus flower developed out of the image of the sun and its rays shining in the dark underground realm of the dead. The sun is a frequent motif in Han tombs, where it generally appears on the top of the ceiling together with a bird. In some Eastern Han tombs we find the image of the sun and its rays arranged around a circle and pointing to the four corners of the square. The rays are shaped like spades, and bear a remarkable resemblance to the later spade-like petals of the lotus blossom. Examples of this form can be found in the Yanjiacha Tomb in Shaanxi province (Dai et al 1983), the Shengcun Tomb no. 1 in Anhui (Zhou 2010), the Dengmiao Tomb in Shandong province (Fig. 4) (Chen et al 2007) (Fig. 7), etc.

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[7] 若木在建木西，末有十日，其華照下地. (Huainanzi 4: He 1998: 329).
[8] 若木在建木西，末有十日，其華照下地. (*Huainanzi* 4: He 1998: 329).

Fig. 4. The sun with eight rays, Dengmiao tomb, Shandong (Source: Chen et al 2007: 42)

A similar form can be found in the Chulan Tomb (Fig. 5), Anhui (Wang, 1993), only the round sun has been replaced by the round lotus seed-pod in the square, with the four corners forming the small four petals, together with the motif of fish swimming around the lotus.

Fig. 5. Four-petal flower with fish, Suxian Chulan Tomb no. 1, Anhui (Source: Wang 1993: 533)

In the intermediate phase of the evolution from the sun to the lotus pattern, craftsmen often depicted the lotus together with the sun and moon. In nearly all cases, the lotus is figured at the top of the round ceiling, on the spot which was once occupied by the sun and moon. Some tombs even have the *zaojing* with the sun inside; in a later phase it would be replaced by the lotus. With the appearance of the evolved lotus there was no longer any need for the sun to

be depicted on the ceiling and, in fact, in some of the later tombs, especially in the Wei Jin tombs in the Gansu province, the sun no longer appears. Consequently, and based on the archaeological evidence, we can conclude that the lotus pattern within the square composed of the round seed-pod and four or eight petals developed directly from the sun with rays, which was intended to illuminate the dark burial chamber.

Meaning of the Lotus

Hayashi (1999: 91) affirms that the lotus as a four- or eight-petal flower at the centre of bronze mirrors, i.e. in the centre of the Heavenly cover (*gaitian* 蓋天), surrounded by four cosmological animals representing the constellations of four direction, represents the North Pole Office (*Beiji* 北极). It is further symbolised by β UMi as the most luminous star within the North Pole Office. The lotus as a shining celestial body would thus symbolise the brightest star in the North Pole Office which, according to ancient accounts, was the dwelling place of Taiyi 太一 (Supreme One)[9]. During the Han Dynasty, Taiyi became one of the most honourable and venerable deities, with the Five Di (五帝) possibly depicted as his assistants. His celestial residence was the brightest star of the North Pole Office. The most likely conclusion is that the lotus at the centre of cosmological bronze mirrors not only indicates the brightest star, but also the supreme deity Taiyi, whose residence was at the centre of the cosmos. The worship of Taiyi was also incorporated into funerary rites and art, as can be seen in the ceiling figuration of an Eastern Han tomb at Qilin`gang, near Nanyang, Henan (see Wu 2010: 57). In this case, Taiyi is surrounded by the Four cosmological animals, Fuxi and Nüwa and two groups of stars (the Big and Small Dipper).

According to the *Treatise on Astronomy* (天文志) in the *History of the Jin Dynasty* (晉書), the brightest star in the North Pole Office dominates the sun, for "it is the Emperor, as well as the seat of Taiyi" (Fang 1974: 289). It is hardly a coincidence that this star, which indicates the North Pole Office and the Central Palace at the centre

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[9] See Sima Qian`s Shiji 史紀 (Historical Records) (1959: 1289).

of the Heavenly Cover, was symbolised by the lotus which, as we have just shown, developed from the sun imagery.

Therefore, the lotus in the vaulted ceilings and over the square chambers of tombs, not only symbolises sunlight, but could also represent the supreme deity, *Taiyi,* who, as the cosmic pivot, supervises the circulation of the four seasons and regulates the cosmic forces *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, manifested in the circulation of the five dynamically interacting cosmic phases (*wuxing* 五行)*,* thus placing the tomb occupant in an eternal context of cosmic space and time. This is further sustained by the surrounding motifs and its position. The lotus is frequently juxtaposed with the heavenly window in the form of a small lattice window or a regular square design. The *Rhapsody on the Hall of Spiritual Light in the State of Lu* provides us with the description of the heavenly window as an open carved window assuming the shape of the fabric design with an inclined net of woven threads (Xiao 1977: 170). The literary description entirely corresponds to the image of the regular square design or lattice window with an open-carved inclined lattice next to the lotus. It is no doubt that these windows represent the heavenly door, an entrance for the deceased`s soul into the cosmic space with the lotus in the centre of it. Furthermore, the lotus is generally depicted in the square *zaojing*, which is placed in the middle of the vaulted ceiling rising over the square chamber. The round ceiling and the square base, clearly reflecting the concept of the round heaven and square earth *tianyuan difang* (天圓地方), formed the framework of an artificially created universe. The depiction of the eight-petal lotus in the centre, distinctly indicating eight directions, further reveals its pivotal function of the cosmic space where the deceased soul could finally attain its eternal rest.

These concepts and their representations were transmitted to the western tombs in Gansu, where they acquired a fresh impetus. While the lotus now dominated the burial chamber, the remainder of the symbolic codes of the *yin yang wuxing* cosmology and other divine creatures practically disappeared from ceilings (as clearly evident in the Foyemiaowan and Xincheng tombs). The lotus as (or within) the cosmic pivot had become the main visual symbol of the celestial world and its appearance transformed the tomb into a microcosm of the universe, where the soul of the deceased could continue to exist.

Conclusion

In this paper we have attempted to cast light on new interpretation of the lotus motif in the Han and Wei Jin tombs. Although its appearance concurs with heterogeneous Buddhist activities, it would be misleading to assert the lotus in its early phase of appearance to be a motif with a Buddhist connotation. Archaeological materials and ancient literary references, taking into account its specific location confirm the lotus is deeply rooted in the early Chinese tradition and has most probably developed from the sun with its rays shining around the obscure underground world. It certainly does not represent only an embellishment, but contains a precise meaning closely linked to the cosmic nature and its central position in the cosmos. Therefore, the lotus on the round ceilings of the Han Wei Jin tombs not only symbolizes sunlight, but could also embody the supreme deity, Taiyi who, as the cosmic pivot, governs the functioning of the entire cosmos.

This interpretation, based on the extant evidence, may also help explain the simultaneous appearance of both the lotus in tombs and Buddhism in China. It was precisely because the lotus motif was so deeply rooted in the early Chinese tradition that, after the spread of Buddhism in China, it was given more extensive expression and usage in the funerary context. Only later did this traditional usage merge with the Buddhist symbol of the lotus.

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Limao: a Local Exemplification of Universal Phenomenon or a Distinct Feature of Chinese Culture?

Paweł Zygadło

Abstract

In this paper, I will first attempt to confront two of the main ways of thinking about Chinese politeness (limao) as they are presented in contemporary scholarship. Subsequently, I will present cases of verbal and non-verbal behaviour classified by Chinese as you limao, being polite. By doing this, I will try to shed light on the way limao are being applied in everyday life situations. Equipped with such knowledge and relying on the previous scholarship I will try to determine to what degree limao is a local expression of the universal phenomenon and to what is a unique feature of Chinese culture. I will then argue that despite the certain resemblance between limao and Western notion of politeness, limao is distinct to Chinese culture. However, such uniqueness does not derive from the "qualitative difference" between the two, as Chinese researchers, such as Gu Yueguo (1990) and Bi Jiwan (1996) tried to claim. The uniqueness of Chinese limao comes from the fact that is is an indispensable element of the greater socio-cultural structure based on hierarchy and the appeal to social harmony. Limao, by its conflict-mitigating, status-recognising and psycho-comforting functions make the positioning of the individual in the socio-culturally imagined structure possible and, in consequence, contribute to the perseverance of this very structure. As such, the notion of limao, despite all social, political and cultural changes of the past and its modern-day adaptations, remained crucial, and unique characteristics of Chinese culture and society even in modern times.

Keywords: Chinese politeness; limao; Chinese society, Intercultural communication

Introduction

Along centuries, China understood as a "cultural continuity," has gone through numerous cultural and political changes. Different socio-political and religious ideologies, such as Confucianism, Legalism, Daoism and Buddhism, had been contributing to the dis-

tinct nature of Chinese culture. However, for over twenty centuries it was Confucianism, mixed with Legalist appreciation of a powerful ruler and Daoist religious practices, that remained a dominant force shaping social structure, mentality and the human relations of the subsequent empires. As Emperor Wu of Han (156 BC –87 BC), established Confucianism as a state orthodoxy, the concept of *li* (禮), ritualised etiquette drawing on social stratification, had become a crucial element that was determining the structure, ethics and politics of Chinese society for centuries. Along the centuries *Lijiao* (禮教) "The teaching of *li*," became a dominant ideology that infiltrated all aspects of social life in Imperial China (Cai 1991). Until the mid-19th-century the position of all-penetrating *lijiao* remained unshaken. However, the defeats that Qing Empire suffered in the 19th century put the adequacy of *lijiao* and validity of old socio-ethical norms under serious criticism. The most notable, and harsh examples of criticism and rejection of "old Chinese/Confucian" values were probably the May 4th Movement (1919–1921), the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and the period of so-called cultural fever of 1980's (Lu 1918; Liu 2000; Vogel, 2011). One could then expect that after over a century of criticism and rejection, the notions like *li* have been if not eradicated so reduced in significance. However, as we investigate contemporary Chinese society, either through systematic academic research or as "participating observers", we find that quite a few elements of the utmost importance in traditional Chinese culture, that are shaping the Chinese way of life.[1] Among them, the notion of *limao* (禮貌) that draws on the same ideas of proper behaviour and hierarchical society is a significant factor determining Chinese communication and social life in general. The way a person addresses others, displays deference or even a particular gesture commented

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[1] Importance of family and its perseverance; dominant position of parents, mostly father, in a family; emphasis on children' education; emphasis on social character of human existence; hierarchy; "face"; propriety in behaviour and relations with others, would be among those that come to mind first. And what "Traditional Chinese culture" stands for here is the culture of Imperial China. I am well aware of the "generic" and "vague" character of the term, but for our purposes here it is necessary to make the distinctions between Imperial and post-imperial China.

by Chinese person as *you limao* or *mei you limao* can dramatically change the course of action and determine the outcome of the interaction to the degree unknown to the Western world. So the question arises: Is the notion of *limao* a modern reminiscence of the old ideology deeply rooted in Chinese mentality, the world-view determining the social structure and interactions? Alternatively, maybe it is just an exemplification of the universal phenomenon that can be observed in other cultures around the globe and even some local "characteristics" should not prevent us from searching for parallels and universally applicable theory?

Limao in contemporary scholarship

Limao (禮貌) is a word that is heard quite often among Chinese, and it is most frequently translated as "politeness" in English. However, its meaning can hardly be reduced to what (mostly) western literature understands as politeness. In the Western literature, politeness is often equal to "linguistically polite behaviour." As such it has been a subject of scientific analysis for quite some time, with many conflicting theories put forward by numerous researchers. Due to the very limited scope of the presented paper, we will focus on the most typical ones that mark the two most important ways of thinking about the phenomenon called *limao*.

The theory that in recent years stirred academic research on politeness the most was the one put forward first in 1978 and later developed in 1987, by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (further as B&L). B&L claimed that politeness is a way of mitigating consequences of what they called "Face Threatening Acts" (further as FTA). FTA is then an act that by being conducted in opposition to the wants and desires of the either addressee or the speaker does damage to the "face" of either of them. B&L further distinguish between positive face, roughly a need of recognition and appreciation, and negative face, a freedom of action and freedom from imposition, claiming that they are universal to human culture (pp. 61–62). The theory built on such premises then applies universally (B&L: 1978, 1987). Another prominent scientist who first wrestled with politeness in general, and later with Chinese politeness (*limao*) in particu-

lar was Geoffrey Leech (1983; 2007). In his work on Chinese politeness (*limao*), he acknowledges its "local flavour," and even tried to analyse it. However, he still claimed that his Principle of Politeness,[2] developed in his earlier works, could be equally applied to Chinese politeness as to the Western one (Leech 2007).

Being inspired mostly by Leach (1983), and writing in opposition to Brown and Levinson, Gu Yueguo denies claims from foreign researchers that a general theory of politeness could be applied to Chinese politeness (*limao*). (Gu: 1990) As a linguist, he admits that *limao* is the most approximate Chinese equivalent to the English word "politeness." However, *limao* morphemically means "polite appearance" and as such exceeds the semantic scope of the English word "politeness." The word itself is derived from the old Chinese word *li* (禮) used widely by Confucius. According to Gu, for Confucius it described the need to restore the social order of the Zhou period by "rectifying names" (正名), that means putting one into his/her correct social position (Gu 1990: 238). [3]

Following his "Confucian" style of thinking, Gu defines what he sees as essential features of Chinese politeness. These include "Four notions" (respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmth and refinement), and "Two cardinal principles" (sincerity and balance) (Gu 1990: 239). What is very distinct in Gu's approach is the fact, that he believes that Chinese *limao* due to the moral principles that it embodies, is something unique and it cannot be reduced to a local expression for the global phenomenon of "politeness."

In a very influential paper, Mao (1994) also argued against the universal applicability of B&L's theory. His main criticism focuses on the notion of "positive-" and "negative face." Drawing heavily on Hu's interpretation of Chinese notion of face (Hu, 1994), he then points out, that crucial for Chinese culture is a distinction of *lian* (moral face) and *miazni* (prestige and social status) (p.457). The

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[2] The Principle of Politeness (PP) –is a constraint observed in human communicative behaviour, influencing us to avoid communicative discord or offence, and maintain communicative concord. (Leach 1983).

[3] As a matter of fact it was not earlier than 300 years after Confucius when the understanding of 禮 as a "politeness" was firmly established in the *Book of Rites* (禮記).

dynamics of *lian* and *mianzi* are factors determining Chinese politeness. B&L have, similarly to E. Goffman (1959) on whose work they draw their theory, have not recognised this fact and positive vs negative face is not compatible with Chinese reality. As a consequence, the very fundament of their theory cannot stand the ground in Chinese, and Japanese, context (p.473).

A similar way of thinking about *limao* has been presented by Bi Jiwan (1996). As he argues, Chinese politeness is "culturally specific phenomenon," and the theories put forward either by Brown and Levinson or Leech do not apply (p.51). He then insists that if any theory is going to be applied to a particular culture first the proper understanding of it is necessary. He draws then the procedure of comparing different culture (p.53). According to Bi, Chinese culture is based on an appeal to emotions (*qing*, 清), when the Western one builds on a search for truth (*zhen*, 真). Moreover, the purpose of *limao* is a "moral upbringing of oneself and others" and "building a social harmony" (p.55). In regards to B&L theory, he points out that the notion of face, as it is understood by the Chinese is by far way more socially oriented than the one used by B&L. As a consequence, many actions that according to Leech or B&L would be considered impolite, are *per se limao*, because they embody this appeal to emotions and moral and social concerns (p. 58–59).

On the contrary, Ji Shaojun (2000) claimed that Mao (1994), and to a degree (Gu, 1990), were mistaken in their analysis and that B&L theory is applicable in a Chinese context as well. He then argues that Mao's understanding of B&L's notion of face as a "individually oriented self-image" that according to Mao is not compatible with the Chinese more "society oriented view," is somehow deficient. Why? Firstly, as Ji argues, there is no reason to claim that Chinese are not concerned about their "self-image." Chinese might not be so much concerned with "an individual freedom of action," but that only proves that "Chinese culture is less oriented toward negative-politeness." Secondly, the distinction of *lian* and *mianzi*, is not as rigid as Mao, following in this instance Hu's remarks, would like to see it (p.1060). So if the B&L's theory is deficient, it is because some polite behaviours of Chinese go beyond the scope of their theory, not because notions of positive and negative face do not apply in Chinese context (p.1061).

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Limao in practice

To develop a more comprehensive and practical theory, while bearing in mind what has been said about *limao* so far, one must carefully look at more specific instances of the phenomenon.

Probably the most common expression of *limao* are the numerous honorific titles and proper ways of addressing people which can be observed in both classical and contemporary Chinese. It would be difficult to find another culture (except those that developed under Chinese influence such as Korea and Japan) where the number of proper addresses among kins would be as great as among Chinese. When the paternal grandfather is called *yeye*, the maternal one is *waigong*. When the elder brother is called *gege/xiong*, the younger is *didi*. Cousins of the same surnames are *tang* (*ge/di/jie/mei*), the ones of different surnames are *biao* (*ge/di/jie/mei*). Using proper addresses towards professional acquaintances is no less important. It is expected that one would address a professor Lin as *Lin jiaoshou*, and the principal (or president) of a school as *xiaozhang*. The widespread "ritual" of exchanging name/business cards when meeting a Chinese person, has important informative and social structuring functions. It allows both sides to know not only each other's names but also their respective titles and social/professional positions. If initial meetings give way to an ongoing relationship, it is quickly apparent how the exchange of name cards and specifically the information contained in them structure those relationships.

Another common situation when politeness is applied is when inviting someone to dinner. If Mr Wang invites Mr Li, it is implied that Mr Wang will pay, but he still faces the possibility of rejection.[4]

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[4] What actually is a norm is to reject an invitation two times, and once it is repeated for the third time, the invitation should be accepted. The whole "ritual" is "giving-saving face" based. To invite someone to dine is a recognised way of establishing good communication, but not always the invitation is an actual desire to have someone over for, or treat someone a dinner. Two denials leave an inviting party room to fulfil social expectations, and at the same time allows it to go away without actually treating invited party a dinner – in case it is not an original desire of the inviting party. The third invitation expresses a sincere will to treat someone a dinner, and unless supported with a really good reason, refusing such an invitation is always face-harming to the inviting party. More on the notion of "face": Hwang and Hu (1988); and Zhai (1995).

For B&L inviting someone to do something is an act that is a threat to what they call "Negative Face".[5] According to their theory, Mr Wang may not really want to invite Mr Li, and thus once rejected can happily give up. Observing the behaviour of Chinese people, however, we find the situation to be quite different. Not only would Mr Wang keep insisting post-rejection, but he is also more than happy to pay the bill! It is, in fact, quite common to see people dining together who are struggling to pay (not "not to pay") the bill! In our example, Mr Li should finally agree to let Mr Wang pay in order "to give face" (給面子, *gei mianzi*), or "return a favour" (還人情) (Yang 1994; King 1996). To do so is another important and common way of expressing politeness among Chinese, that as a consequence establishes (or confirms) a special relationship between the two (關係, *guanxi*).

Another example worth attention is a way for individuals of inferior status to approach the ones in power. It is then a common practice that a student, especially one who is serious about his/her studies to lower his/her voice when speaking with a teacher and to use many cordial expressions and to rarely if at all, oppose teacher's view. Claimants will approach officials in a very similar if they want to have their business to be done. Similarly, officials of the lower level will always express their admiration and respect when facing ones of a higher level (Jia 1997–8). Even if one holding certain power is incompetent or simply lazy to do his work, a display of discontent or disagreement would be an open challenge to one's position, leaving the subordinate one, at best, unattended, if not abruptly dismissed. Only those with a certain social status, or those who try to struggle for such status, dare to challenge such arrangements.

Discussion: *Limao* – a tool of status communication

Chinese politeness, despite all the emphasis on being modest and sincere, as Gu and Bi insist, is bonded with the notion of status and

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[5] "Negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e., to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. ("want of every 'competent adult member' [of a society] that his actions be unimpeded by others.") (B&L 1987: 61–62)

social hierarchy. *Limao* may equally be an expression of once superior or subordinate social status. In Taiwan, for instance, someone who misbehaves might be referred to as someone who has not got enough *xiuyang* (修養, acculturation), or *jiayoang* (教養, education training). In Mainland China a term of similar meaning and usage would be *suzhi* (素質), a personal (moral) quality, and the misbehaving individual would be labelled as *suzhi di*, "a one of low personal (moral) quality" (Upton-McLaughlin, 2014). So people who act according to certain norms and expectations are perceived as being of a higher (moral) status. A polite (fitting norms) behaviour might then be a form of self-appreciation and gaining a better social status. The one that acts against the rules loses face (丟臉, *diulian*) and might subsequently lose social status.

It highlights another consequence that is a characteristic feature of Chinese politeness. Chinese politeness is not only instrumental, as for instance B&L would like to see it, but is also, and maybe first of all, normative. Persistence in acting against socially defined rules and expectations may be a reason for exclusion and punishment. A person, for example, that acts against *limao* (無禮, *wuli*) risks losing (moral) face (丟臉, *diulian*) and might be defined as someone "without shame" (無恥, *wuchi*). As such, one almost automatically excludes oneself from the community. *Limao* is then a way of communicating obedience to the social norms, rules and expectations, and lack of such a communication might procure severe consequences.

An almost logical corollary of such an approach is the fact that those with higher social position might challenge such an arrangement. Contrary to what has been said above, polite behaviour and language could be seen as an expression of lower (subordinate) status whereas rude behaviour and language – as a way of "social emancipation" or a display of a higher social status. The person acting in this way might be losing (moral) face (臉, *lian*), but at the same time shows off, or gains another sort of "face," called *mianzi* (面子), roughly translated as "prestige" (Hu 1944). This "struggle" for *mianzi* used to be very apparent in many local governmental agencies, such as household registry offices, immigration offices, or local police stations. Such ostensive rudeness then is a method of displaying someone's status and reminding those seeking the assistance

of his or her place. The one who needs assistance, on his behalf must display cooperative behaviour, be polite and deferent. Moreover, this is not so much in line with some theories (Leech, Gu), according to which self-denigration should be displayed by the polite person, as a display of proper acculturation and an embodiment of honesty and modesty – highly apprised virtues among Chinese. In contemporary China though, the application of the politeness (*limao*) mentioned by Gu and others, but of course not always, is limited to situations where some sort of special relationship (關係) exists. In consequence, the practice of polite behaviour is usually only active in those interactions where the parties are related in some way, by power, solidarity or other factors (有關係的) at the first place.

Conclusion

From the above examples, we might conclude, that *limao* is a method of fitting and/or communicating an acceptance of social constraints, expectations and requirements. It is hard then to deny direct links between *limao* and the notion of face and a struggle for power, status and social recognition. A *limao* behaviour (verbal or not) is often a response to Face Threatening Acts (as B&L would like to see it). However, the relation between these often goes the other way round. *Limao* behaviour is not only a reaction to FTA. Often, through *limao* behaviour, situations in which face (power, status and social recognition, etc.) is not only 'not lost' (*diulian*), but quite to the contrary – where face (*mianzi*, and power, status and social recognition) is gained, are being created. *Limao* is then a form of verbal and non-verbal communication that on the one hand can prevent the undesired reaction (aggression) and contribute to the "maintaining of communicative concord" (as Leech would like to see it). It can evoke and preserve so-called "harmonious society." On the other hand, however, it might be a form of creating social ties, a mean of establishing a community. Again though, it is not just a form of searching for concord and harmony. It may also (or just) be a form of "social battling," through which a social position is communicated/claimed and gained. In other words, it is not only a prevention from "losing the (social) concord" (Leech) or an expression of proper acculturation

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(traditional Chinese approach supported by researchers like Gu). It is also, especially among strangers, a way of mitigating the effects of FTA (Brown& Levinson), and yet sometimes a form of "passive aggressive" attempt at gaining social recognition and assuring one's social status. Demanding *limao* from others, on the other hand, might hint at a superior position and an attempt towards subordinating the other. Alternatively, complying with such a demand is the acknowledgement of the socio-symbolic reality that the one who requires polite behaviour/language pertains to. As a consequence, displaying polite behaviour, and using of polite language (*limao*) can be, as mentioned above, an expression of someone's subordinated position, and an act of deference. Especially in contemporary Mainland China, examples of such behaviour are not rare at all. In other words, *limao* is a complex and multi-layer phenomenon. By no means can it simply be reduced to "polite language and behaviour". It is rather an expression of a traditional Chinese approach towards humans' relationships. As such it is part of an exceedingly more complex system and a bundle of socio-linguistic ties. *Limao* is then a polite behaviour, polite language, but also a way of communicating certain contexts. To be more specific: a way of claiming someone's status and power, a way of mitigating negative (face-threatening) effects of such claims, and a way of social-battling for power and recognition. Despite being denied and to a great extent abandoned in the past, *limao* as a method of structuring Chinese society remains an indispensable element of the phenomenon that we call "Chinese culture."

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Interpretation of Tangut folklore

Romain Lefebvre

Abstract

Among the texts discovered by Petr Kuzmic Kozlov in Khara-Khoto (the Black City, in Chinese Heishui cheng 黑水城) in 1908, many are written in the Xi Xia 西夏 script (or Tangut 1038-1227). The Xi Xia script has regular, semi-cursive and cursive forms of characters. As it is already difficult to read and interpret the Chinese cursive characters, studying the Xi Xia cursive forms is, in my opinion, way more difficult to do. However the difficulty, many secular documents from Khara-Khoto are written in the cursive form and represent the very essence of Tangut literature, including non exhaustively commercial contracts, epistolary documents, medical texts and almanacs. I will present a philological study of one of these almanacs, from the Russian Tangut collection at the Ermitage.

Keywords: Tangut, Xi Xia script, Khara-Khoto, Ermitage

As the following article takes part in a bigger project on the study of Tangut social texts, the examples provided in the paragraphs may contain French script.

Among the texts discovered by Petr Kuzmic Kozlov in Khara-Khoto (the Black City, in Chinese Heishuicheng 黑水城) in 1908, many are written in the Xi Xia 西夏 script (or Tangut 1038–1227). The Tangut script has regular, semi-cursive and cursive forms of characters[1].

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[1] As for the name 'Tangut', I will use it in all the article. See Bazin Louis (1990 : p. 48–60). The Tangut did not call themselves 'Tangut', nor 'Xixia', the lattest being a Chinese name 西夏. They rather called themselves Miyao 彌藥 or Miyue 彌月.

As it is already difficult to read and interpret the Chinese cursive characters, studying the Xi Xia cursive forms is, in my opinion, way more difficult to read.

In spite of difficulty that many secular documents from Khara-Khoto are written in the cursive form, they do represent the very essence of Tangut literature, including non exhaustively commercial contracts, epistolary documents and medical texts, and

I will present here a philological study of sources regarding folklore.

In my presentation, I find it very important to present to you who the Tangut were.

The XiXia, or Tangut (1038–1227), before establishing their empire, were called the Dangxiang 黨項. They settled in the northwest of China, into the Corridor of Hexi (in Chinese Hexi *zoulang* 河西走廊), at the time of the Sui 隨 (581–618) and then lived under the authority of an official imperial dynasty, the Tang 唐 (618–907). Tangut had ten emperors, who reigned for one hundred and ninety years.

Buddhism had already been well based in this region for centuries, the documents found at Khara-Khoto (Edzina Banner in actual Inner Mongolia) and in the region of Dunhuang (in the Gansu province) can attest that fact. Among the documents there was a very large majority of Buddhist texts in Tangut script.

Buddhism was the main religion in the Tangut society, plus shamanism that is considered as the first religion, the native religion of Tangut people (beliefs in Mother Nature).

One of the most important things that occurred in the Tangut society was the creation of their own script. Yuanhao, the first emperor, gave the order to his official Yeli Renrong, in 1036, to create the Tangut script, not in the image of, but with the help of classical Chinese script.

Within the Tangut society there was a ritual dichotomy. This phenomenon was as such that some emperors devoted their religious, cultural actions in accordance with the *Han* cult and some in accordance with *Fan* cult, '*Fan*' means non-*Han*. In the following comment, I will not make a distinction between the two cults, even though the poetry and music could be of *Han* or *Fan* origins.

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An example of Tangut poetry: the Liangzhou stele 涼州 in 1094

Liangzhou was a prefecture of the Tangut state, but existed long before when it was one of the thirteen prefectures during the Han 漢 dynasty.

The stele[2] was erected under the emperor Weiming Qianshun 嵬名乾順/ Chongzong 崇宗 reign (born 1084, ruled 1086–1139), the fourth emperor.

It had been discovered in 1804 by Zhang Shu 張澍 (1776–1847), an epigraphist of the Qing 清 dynasty[3].

The story said that in 1092, there was an earthquake that ruined the Huguo temple and the Ganying stupa of this temple. A stupa is a mount of bricks or stones where a Buddha relic is being kept. According to the legend and or history, this would be one of the 84000 stupa erected in the world by Aśoka (304–232), the 3rd emperor of the Indian dynasty of Maurya. It would confer a divine protection against natural or human catastrophic disasters.

A year later, in 1093, the repairing the temple started, and it was in 1094 that there was a massive Buddhist celebration for the reopening of the temple.

On the obverse side is the Tangut writing and on the reverse side classical Chinese script.

I apologize for not presenting pictures but they are of very poor quality.

It is definitely not the Tangut translation of the Chinese part or *vice-versa*. These are two different texts. Gabriel Devéria, the very famous French sinologist, published in 1902 an article called "L'écriture du royaume de Si-hia ou Tangout"[4]:

"Telle est la traduction du texte chinois qui figure sur le revers de la stèle de Leang-tcheou, et qui comprend 25 lignes contenant

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[2] The stele is nowadays kept at the Wuwei Museum, in the city of Wuwei in Gansu province. Wuwei 武威 was once the prefecture of Liangzhou.

[3] He is the first scholar to begin to develop interests in the Tangut culture.

[4] Devéria, Gabriel (1902 : p. 147–176).

chacune une moyenne de 70 caractères ; il se compose d'une première partie en prose ; d'une seconde partie en vers, et enfin d'une troisième partie donnant les noms des contributeurs aux réparations du temple ; j'évalue à 1632 le nombre des caractères chinois de cette inscription. La partie Poétique comprend 64 vers de 4 caractères, soit en tout 256 caractères. Le texte de l'avers a 28 lignes contenant chacune une moyenne de 65 caractères Si-Hia ; soit en tout 1 5 56 caractères ; Le texte Si-Hia contient une partie poétique, mais elle n'a que 50 vers ayant alternativement 4 à 7 pieds avec quelques chevillages dans la dernière ligne, ce qui porterait, si mon calcul est juste, à 276 le nombre des caractères Si-Hia de cette même partie poétique, soit 20 caractères de plus que dans la partie correspondante du texte chinois."

According to the Chinese text on the Liangzhou stele, there are 25 lines of 70 characters each. There is a first part which is a prose part, a second part about poetry and a third part concerning the names of the contributors who helped for the repairing of the temple (in Chinese gongyang ren). Devéria estimated that there were 1632 characters on the Chinese version.

The Tangut text contains a part of poetry, smaller than the Chinese version: only 276 characters for poetry, then in the whole there are 1556 Tangut characters.

At the top of the stele were carved Apsaras, in Chinese famously known as *Feitian* 飛天, who 'fly in the sky'. The top half of their body is female and they belong to the Chinese mythology.

Ruth Dunnell, professor at the University of Kenyon, in Ohio, worked on this stele in 1996[5], She worked basically from Prof. Shi Jinbo (Academy of Social Sciences of China)'s translation into Chinese[6] and less from the Tangut text.

My translation is more from the Tangut text, than the Chinese, as Prof. Nishida Tatsuo did, from Kyoto University did when he published in 1964[7].

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[5] Dunnell, Ruth W. (1996).

[6] Shi Jinbo史金波 (1995).

[7] Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, in Li Fanwen 李範文 (2006).

The study of the Liangzhou highly contributed to the fields of history and linguistics, and this since the beginning of the 20th century. I chose to show columns 19 and 20 of the Tangut side of the stele, because they are of deep folklore meaning. The Chinese part insists more on the explanation of how the stupa was erected.

colonne 19 :

倂	緂	絟	羪
1999	3315	4031	2738
cinq	couleur	propice	nuage
五	色	吉	雲

Nishida (N) : The auspicious five-colored cloud
Dunnell (D) : A five-hued auspicious cloud
Lefebvre (L) : Un nuage aux cinq couleurs [cinq couleurs au sous-entendu de propice]

Li1999 李範文《夏漢字典》的編號。

緂	緂	羑	絟	祾	毈	緂
3133	3133	1452	3146	0152	4573	2262
matin	matin	AUX.	porter	doré	lumière	oiseau
朝	朝	更	穿	金	光	鳥

N: Each morning colors the bird atop the tower gold.
D: covers [the stūpa] at dawn and golden rays fly;
L: couvre chaque matin le stūpa de ses rayons dorés.

散	訧	倽	絑
5865	0590	0968	2852
Trois	Temps	tous	Bouddha
三	世	諸	佛

N: The many buddhas of the three worlds
D: the myriad buddhas of the Three Times
L: Tous les Bouddha des Trois Temps (Passé, Présent et Futur)

For each column characters, I give the Tangut character, its reference number in Professor Li Fanwen's Xiahan dictionary[8], the

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[8] Li Fanwen 李範文, and Jia Changye 賈常業 (2008).

French translation and the traditional Chinese translation. Then you can find three translations, the first from Nishida, the second from Dunnell, both in English, then my translation in French.

I could have given you the transcription, but actually there is no standardization of the Tangut phonetics system. For instance Doctor Arakawa Shintaro[9], Doctor Imre Galambos[10] and I are using different ways of writing the phonetics. I admit that I, from now, will be using both doctors' phonetical system, because they are the closest to what it's called Late Middle Chinese[11].

Also, normally we add the closest Chinese transcription between brackets to make the reader imagine, if he or she is a Chinese learner obviously or not, to imagine how it needs to be read. However, I decided not to write it because originally below the transcription you can't write the modern pinyin, which I often do and that is a mistake, you have to give the medieval form, the Tang Chinese phonetics, or late middle Chinese phonetics.

Also, it is of great importance here to introduce a little bit of Tangut writing system and grammar.

If you decompose the Tangut character, you will find a radical. Sometimes there is a meaning for the radical, sometimes it's only graphics.

As you can see the sentences, the verb is always placed at the end of the sentence.

The complexity of the strokes it contains, but also the beauty of it, render the Tangut writing studies more fruitful.

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[9] Arakawa, Shintaro荒川 慎太郎 (2016).
[10] Galambos, Imre (2011).
[11] Pulleyblank, Edwin G. (1991). He wrote that they were three different Chinese systems in the history of China : *Early Middle Chinese* 古汉语*:* 六朝 （220–589年）, *Late Middle Chinese*中古汉语*:* 唐朝 （618–907）, 宋代（960–1279年）, *Early Mandarin*汉语*:* 元朝 （1279–1368）.
   Pulleyblank : for instance "大" dà, 'big' : 古汉语« ta », 中古汉语« tha », 汉语« da ». As a consequence, it would be unwise to use modern transcription for Tangut characters.

募	募	燚	敗	刎	後	薇
0102	0102	1326	2569	2544	1826	0051
nuit	nuit	AUX.	encercle	saint	lampe	claire (dans le sens d'évident)
夜	夜	必	繞	聖	燈	顯

N: Each night make the holy light appear.
D: circle around at night and the holy lamp appears.
L: éclairent chaque nuit de leur lumière sainte (éclairer + rendre clair avec顯, ici en tant que adj.)

刎	疏	搦	羑
0100	4739	5981	4859
un	*kalpa*	un	fin
一	劫	一	終

N: Even if only one tier is seen
D: In one *kalpa* all was completed;
L: En un *kalpa*, tout est achevé.
un petit kalpa = 16 798 000 années

繡	纺	薇	虆	絆	殭	繺
2104	2627	0020	3015	2518	1410	1719
avant	terre	route	obtenir	cœur	gai	amuser
先	地	道	獲得	心	悅	戲

N:The viewer will gain the Way and be filled with delight.
D: having obtained the way and the land of our forebears, [our] hearts rejoice.
L: Ayant obtenu les terres et les chemins, les cœurs sont pleins de joie.

For instance, there are here two characters to say "one", the first *lew* and the seconde one *a*. They both mean "one" but the second character is also used in transliteration of Buddhist names.

資	祇	庞	骤
4778	0084	4683	0369
sept	unir	tout	scruter
七	結	悉	察

N: If all seventiers are seen
D: All seven stories inspected,
L: Une fois inspecté les sept étages (sept étages cosmiques / sommet de la pagode = exemple)

緻	祓	?	羅	絆	脘	織
2342	1771		1599	2852	1892	2679
bonheur	sagesse		obtenir	Bouddha	foyer	arriver (parāmitā)
福	智		得	佛	宮	到

N: The viewer obtains blessedness, wisdom and ? and reaches the palace of the Buddhas.
D: [we] have people of blessing and wisdom come to this Buddha shrine.
L: les êtres emplis de bonheur et de sagesse parviennent jusqu'à Sakyamuni (résidence/palais de Bouddha)

颴	敉	緲	祂
0510	5399	2750	0176
Ciel	sous	noir	tête
天	下	黔	首

N: The black-headed ones (the Hsi-hsia) under heaven (come to this tower)
D: For the black-headed [ones] under Heaven,
L: Les têtes noires souveraines du Ciel Bleu (explication)

假	燉	椛	祢	緻	?	叕
5566	2480	4024	1139	2342		5645
amer	divertissement	deux	Poss.	bonheur		lieu
苦	樂	二	之	福		処

N: Seeking the two blessings, blessings in pain and blessings in happiness;
D: in both suffering and joy [this is] the place to seek blessings;
L: dans la joie, comme dans l'amertume, vont vers le bonheur (?)

colonne 20 :

誂	祓	緻	毵
0183	0089	1204	1671
terre	sur	visage	rouge
地	上	面	赤

N: For the red-faced ones (the Hsi-hsia) on this earth,
D: for the red-faced [ones] on earth,
L: Pour les visages rouges sur la terre,

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刻	瓶	橇	徿	鹭	?	黻
5307	0616	4024	1139	3640		0508
pouvoir	vaincre	deux	POSS.	dépendre		être
勢	敗	二	之	柱		是

N: (This tower) is the dual fountainhead for power and defence.
D: in both strength and defeat, it is the pillar and root.
L: dans la victoire, comme dans la défaite, sont les piliers de ..?

The explanation of these so-called "black-headed, red-faced people" is given by Ksenia Kepping[12], from St Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, in the 90s and even earlier by Alexander Nevskii, in his study of «Odes to Monthly Pleasures» (in Chinese *Yue Yue yushi* 月月娛詩).

The adjective is placed after the name: black-headed is *hei shou* in Chinese, but *shou hei* in Tangut.

Here the *tianxia* in Tangut is not similar to the Chinese philosophical conception. An imperial Chinese dynasty should have filiation from the imperial family, all ruling with the Mandate of Heaven, however the Tangut emperors expressed that they ruled only with the Mandate of the Blue sky, (as Mongols did too) here the translation of blue sky needs to be induced. Because the *tianxia* here in Tangut contradictory means "under heaven".

The Tangut characters for *tian* doesn't mean sky here, it means "emperor" or "High Heaven". The Tangut character for "sky" is a lot different and has absolutely not the same transcription, nor the same writing strokes. Here it is read *newr* (兀) *khju* (屈) *yu (like ten)* (吳) *nja* (那) for "black-headed under the blue sky".

The "sky" character is pronounced *mo*, "red-faced on the earth"*phjo (bo)chha ni ni* red and face have a very close pronunciation.

Kepping adds that the ceremonial odes and the ritual songs represent the most important part of the Tangut poetry. They contain the Tangut mythological ideas such as the origins of the Tangut people, their migrations, pre-Buddhist, Shamanistic beliefs. Kepping

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[12] Kepping, Ksenia (2003 : p. 275–298).

also insist on the two different languages which are the common language and the ritual language.

Moreover, the two concepts of considering the Tangut people, as 'black-headed', 'red-faced', only appear in the Tangut text of the stele, not the Chinese text. This definitely is Tangut folklore.

祢	図	赵	兪
1084	4602	0726	1605
dix	huit	enfer	
十	八	地	獄

N: (the punishment of the eighteen hells)
D: [From] the eighteen hells,
L: Des dix-huit enfers,

兪	綖	糤	鄰	綖	薮	兪
5097	3159	5907	2724	2162	3835	1599
pêché	recevoir	êtres animés		retirer	libérer	obtenir
罪	受	衆	生	脫	解	得

N: Even sentient beings who receive (...) may achieve salvation.
D: guilty beings obtain release;
L: les êtres animés ayant pêché se voient retirer leurs fautes,

綖	祢	紅	羮
2205	1084	3113	4485
quatre	dix	neuf	étage (phonétique de *ceng*)
四	十	九	層

N: Whenever one goes in the forty-nine directions,
D: [to] the forty-nine stories [in the heavenly palace]
L: vers les quarante-neuf étages du ?

2480	0140	1483	2888	1338	2679	4469
détente	paix	bonté	celui	amour	parvenir	arriver
娛	安	慈	氏	愛	至	往

N: with peace the love of the compassionate one (Maitreya) reaches everywhere.
D: of the happy Maitreya [they] hasten in eagerness.
L: parviennent à Maitreya, remplis de joie.

5865	4713	3925	2491
Trois	Mondes	obscur	sombre
三	界	昏	暗

N: The three worlds are dark,
D: In the dim obscurity of the Three Realms,
L: L'obscurité des Trois Mondes

1771	1826	5981	0063	0010	0046	2149
sagesse	lampe	DIR.	lever	tout	voir	clair
智	燈	起	舉	皆	見	顯

N: but once the light of wisdom (of the tower) shines, all is seen clearly.
D: the lamp of wisdom is raised and everything illumined;
L: est effacée (rendue claire) par la lampe de la sagesse élevée (vers le haut)

3119	5435	1338	0661
êtres animés		aimer	mer
衆	生	愛	海

N: Safely across the sea of love for sentient beings
D: [for] sentient beings in the sea of desire,
L: Les êtres animés dans la mer de désirs,

4882	2584	1452	1600	0010	3053	4900
intelligence	pont	AUX.	bâtir	tout	passer	transporter
慧	橋	更	安	皆	渡	運

N: the bridge of intrinsic wisdom passes all across (to the other shore)
D: a bridge of discernment is built and all cross over.
L: passent tous sur le pont de la sagesse, avec (davantage) de discernement.

聶麻山研究《月月娛詩》："黔首"和"赤面"的意義是西夏人自稱的。

Some of the ritual language given by the Tangut Chinese glossary.

To add to the study of musicality in the Tangut glossary, Devéria also describes in his article the festivities surrounding the reopening of the temple. He explains that they were accompanied with music made of ritual drums for instance. There are unfortunately no pictures that could attest his saying, so we wouldn't have proof that they existed. However, the vocabulary presented in the glossary can be a textual proof that Tangut were playing drums, flutes or else. In Chinese *Fan Han heshi zhangzhongzhu* 番漢合時掌中珠, translated into English as "The Pearl in the Palm", was written by Gule Maocai[13] in 1190.

That was one of the main Tangut sources undoubtedly used by first Tangut scholars to decipher this complex writing system.

In the glossary, you can find many instruments.

colonne 323 第323行:

蒶	燊	叕	...
0140	3159	2045	4658
plaisir	quérir	vin	boisson
樂	取	酒	飲

N: to seek pleasure and drink wine 取樂飲酒
L: s'adonner au plaisir du vin

戁	蒲	祅
5034	3846	0500
chanteur	PREF.taper	
	(exprimant le souhait)	
樂	願	動

N: how to play music 教動樂
L: apprendre à jouer d'un instrument (dont voici une/la liste)

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[13]   Again in Chinese form, his Tangut name is not given here.

An interesting thing here is that before giving the musical instruments, it is of great importance to "seek pleasure and drink wine", then introduce "how to play music", then they present to you what are the musical instruments.

From this small part of the glossary, we should consider it not only as glossary, but also as a way of introducing the Tangut society. Not just terms but sentences explaining how they live.

I first give the translation of the terms by Nishida Tatsuo, in 1966, who also worked on it.

Then I give my personal translation with a few comments.

散　꿰　꿰
5865　0809　5670
trois　corde　connecter
三　絃　粘

N: three-stringed instrument 三絃
L: instrument à trois cordes (emprunt du chinois oral)

꿰　꿰　꿰
3200　0809　5670
six　corde　connecter
六　絃　粘

N: six-stringed instrument 六絃
L: instrument à six cordes

colonne 324 第324行:

蕤　꿰
4362　0435
pipa　instrument de musique
琵琶　樂器

N: pipa 琵琶
L: pipa

Pipa one character instead of two in Chinese and then one character to name the category of "music" "musical instrument" which also means a "song".

Two characters in Chinese for stringed instruments instead of three in Tangut (they add the verb "connect" also at the end of the instrument name.

𗄿 𗘭
1581   0435
luth   instrument de musique
琴   樂器

N: Chinese lute 琴
L: Luth chinois (emprunt du chinois oral)

𗼨 𗘭
4247   0435
unité de mesure-instrument de musique
量   樂器

N : Chinese harp 箏
L : harpe chinoise (emprunt du chinois oral)

𗄿 𗘭
0812   0435
grue   instrument de musique
鶴/箜   樂器

N : *konghou* (kind of harp) 箜篌
L : harpe

𗄿 𗘭
4194   0443
flûte de bambou-long
笛   長

N : long flute 管
L : flûte traversière

蔆　牏
4194　3477
flûte de bambou-horizontal
笛　橫

N : short flute 笛
L : flûte transverse / nom générique pour une flûte

粀　蔆
5870　4194
[phonétique]-flûte de bambou
[蕭]　笛

N : harmony flute 簫
L : Flûte

荺　蔆
4423　4194
orgue à bouche-flûte de bambou
笙　笛

N : head flute (mouth organ) 笙
L : (emprunt du chinois oral)

蔆　籵
4194　5970
flûte de bambou-osier
笛　葦

N : cypress flute 葦築
L : Flûte en matière de bambou (et pas cyprès)

繎　蔆
3057　4184
poisson flûte de bambou
魚　笛

N : water flute 七星
L : 七星魚 *Channa Asiatica* = poisson tête de serpent (originaire d'Asie)

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�季　緢
4184　2128
flûte de bambou-souffler
笛　　吹

N : to blow a flute 吹簫
L : jouer de la flûte

仿　祕
5528　0500
tambour-frapper
鼓　　擊

N : to beat a drum 擊鼓
L : jouer du tambour

仿　繍
5528　2893
tambour-grand
鼓　　大

N : big drum 大鼓
L : un grand tambour

祎　仿
1850　5528
frapper tambour
杖　　鼓

N : "ten-foot" drum 丈鼓
L : un très grand tambour 又名長鼓

萮　矟

4750	1002
taper	écho
拍	回音

N : castenets 拍板
L : claves

In this example, the claves "to pat, to beat" are more "clappers", not "castanets".

Conclusion

This represent a small part of the very important translating process of the terms and sentences of Tangut. I try my best to translate more from Tangut than from Chinese. I am not saying that the Chinese version is not good, it's just that I need to understand the Tangut meaning and interpretation behind the terms and try to avoid to do only a translation from Chinese with a Chinese way of seeing, interpreting things. Tangut played music from different instruments and have their own ritual way of celebrating things. Folklore could here have, as for the ritual system, two different meanings, such as Fan folklore and Han folklore. We can learn more of Tangut society from Tangut themselves in these secular documents, rather than always vouching for only Chinese sources, such as Tuotuo's Songshi or Liaoshi or Jinshi. So these I called "Tangut to Tangut" sources can also be part of the big historiographical concept of Tangut history.

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Нова книга за доминацията на Индия и Китай в съвременния свят

Татяна Евтимова

Abstract

The attribute "new" from my title is a promotional trick more or less. The book "The Elephant and the Dragon. The Rise of India and China and What It Means for All of Us" by Robyn Meredith came out in 2009. Before even the first ten years of the new 21ˢᵗ century have elapsed, the world is fully aware that global economics and politics will be dominated by India and China. Both countries have already proved that they possess their own vision for the new Millennium and know the ways to realize it in life. The author works as an international correspondent for Forbes Magazine, and manages in details the specifics of the two Eastern giants – both taken by themselves, and on a comparative basis. She reveals the figures of Gandhi and Mao being deeply convinced that these two have put a sensitive impact not only on the past, but on the future of their two nations likewise. The attribute "new" is at the same time adequate enough. The book is genuinely new taking into account the brave and insightful look of a much talented journalist who succeeded in changing daily news to a real page turner and mere statistics to a lovely backstage of totally unknown political and social phenomena. Internet on Spice Road and The Indian Cultural Revolution are just two of the benchmarking headings inside the book.

Keywords: India, China, world economy, geopolitics

Определението „нова" в заглавието на този доклад е по-скоро „рекламен трик". Книгата на Робин Мередит[1] *Слонът и драконът. Възходът на Индия и Китай и какво означава това за всички нас* излиза през 2009 г.[2] Още преди да изтекат първите 10 години на XXI век светът е наясно, че глобалната икономика и

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[1] Робин Мередит живее в Хонконг. Чуждестранен кореспондент на списание *Forbes*. Била е кореспондент и на вестник *New York Times*.

[2] Робин Мередит. *Слонът и драконът. Възходът на Индия и Китай и какво означава това за всички нас.* Ciela, 2009 г.

политика ще бъдат доминирани от Индия и Китай. Схванал е репликата на индийския министър на търговията Натх че „Китай печели спринта, а ние ще спечелим маратона" (Мередит 2009: 60). И двете държави са доказали, че имат визия за собствено присъствие в света и знаят как да я постигнат. Авторката познава отлично спецификите на двата източни колоса – и поотделно, и на сравнителна основа.

В същото време обаче определението „нова", което избрах за въвеждаща дума в заглавието, е и напълно адекватно, отнесено към качествения и несъмнено иновативен сравнителен дискурс върху разрушителните и съзидателни възможности на слона и дракона в книгата на Мередит. Тя е наистина нова със смелия и проницателен поглед на талантливия журналист международник, безспорен капацитет по теми, свързани с развитието на Индия и Китай, успял да превърне делничните новини в увлекателно четиво, а статистическите факти – в симпатичен декор на напълно непознати политически и социални явления. *Интернет по пътя на подправките* и *Културната революция в Индия* са само две от запомнящите се заглавия от „Слонът и Драконът".

Книгата е разказ за това как Индия и Китай променят съдбите си, а заедно с това и световната история. В прехода им от развиващи се страни към суперсили бавният, но стабилен подход на Индия контрастира на бурния напредък на Китай. Индия и Китай са толкова различни, колкото Ганди и Мао. Индия е хаос от убийствено ярки цветове и дисхармония от звуци на тридесет различни езика. Дори националната времева зона е загадка: различава се с половин час от зоните по света. Когато в Ню Йорк е дванайсет на обяд в Мумбай е девет и половина вечерта.

„През 2003 година индийският министър-председател Атал Бихари Ваджпай[3] се качва на самолет за Пекин. Това ще бъде историческо пътуване. Последния път, когато индийски ръководител е на посещение в Пекин преди около едно десетилетие, Китай е страна с безброй велосипеди и мрачни сгради и упорито

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[3] За всички, които лично ще разгърнат книгата, правя уточнението, че в нея името на индийския министър-председател (2004–2008) Ваджпай е изписано некоректно (вероятно поради транслитерация от английски език) като Вайпайе.

полага усилия да изтласка икономиката си в XX век, преди да е настъпил XXI. Още докато самолетът снижава, господин Ваджпай вижда гледка, подобна на мираж – хиляди построени през последните години фабрики около Пекин, които предлагат стабилна заплата и осъществяване на мечтата за по-добър живот. Китай е преминал от миналото направо в бъдещето" (Пак там, 7).

„Индия, от друга страна, е останала в миналото. Летищата ѝ са стари от десетилетия и се рушат. Няма нови магистрали – пътищата са осеяни с дупки и са задръстени от коли, а покрай тях се нижат мизерни колиби. Бедните в индийските градове живеят в квартали, където се къпят и мият съдовете си в мръсни канали, използвани и за тоалетни. <….> Двадесет и пет години след началото на реформите в Китай контрастът е огромен. Заплатите в Китай са нараснали двойно в сравнение с тези в Индия. И двете страни продължават да са бедни, но през 2003 г. 87% от китайците вече са прескочили отчайващата граница на бедността от един долар на ден, докато за Индия този процент е 69" (Пак там, 8).

Китай подава нагледен световен пример за това как и откъде трябва да започнат икономическите реформи: не от строежите на магистрали и небостъргачи, на които се възхищават туристите, а от промяна в селските райони. Авторката разказва за легендарния договор на селяните от Сяоганг. През една зимна нощ на 1978 г. осемнайсет неграмотни семейства от Сяоганг подпечатват с обагрени в червено мастило пръсти таен незаконен договор, нарушаващ правилата на колективното стопанство и цялостната земеделска политика на комунистическия режим на Мао. Нелегалните революционери се споразумяват да си поделят земята, а всяко от семействата се задължава да произведе определено количество зърно. Следващата реколта надхвърля почти четирикратно миналогодишните добиви. Днес китайското правителство чества Сяоганг като родно място на китайската аграрна реформа. Селището е символ и начало на историческата промяна от икономика с държавно планиране към модерна пазарна икономика.

„Човек не знае къде ще открие Исус. Аз го срещам в една фабрика за играчки в Южен Китай, застанал на лавицата с говорещи кукли. Този Исус с размер на кукла Барби, със сини очи и кафява коса до раменете, говори с мек насърчителен електронен

глас: „Никой не може да види Царството Божие, ако не се прероди.“ <…> До него стои Дева Мария, а до нея – играчка с образа на Мойсей, който строго предупреждава децата да не пожелават жената на съседа си“ (Пак там, 13). Със своите пет хиляди фабрики, осигуряващи прехрана на милиони китайски работници, китайската провинция Гуандун се превръща в център на световната индустрия за играчки на стойност 85 милиарда USD.

Из страниците на книгата се запознаваме с господин Тони Ма и неговата шарена като калейдоскоп, но не винаги радостна, житейска съдба. Историята му е до голяма степен отражение на историята на страната му през последния половин век. Днес господин Ма работи като експерт за американска компания в Китай, той е „доктор по биохимия“ от университета в Стоктън, Калифорния, впоследствие изградил научна кариера в Университета Джон Хопкинс.

Детските му спомени са примесени с „кадри“ за жестокостта на Културната революция на Мао. Когато е на петнайсет години, властите екстрадират баща му – служител в Министерството на образованието – в дълбоката селска провинция, където трябва да отглежда ориз, да пасе добитък и да се превъзпитава. Момчето започва работа в завод за стомана близо до Пекин за два долара на месец. Затворените по време на Културната революция „буржоазни“ университети изведнъж отварят врати през 1978 г. и на 400 от общо 2000 работници в стоманения завод е разрешено да се явят на приемен изпит. Един от тримата, приети в Колежа, господин Ма учи химия в Пекин, а после заедно със съпругата се премества в твърде различния свят на Калифорния, след като е спечелил престижна академична стипендия. След дипломирането си в „Джон Хопкинс“, бившият стоманоработник с 2 USD месечна заплата е нает като изследовател в лабораторията за потребителски продукти на *Johnson & Johnson* в Ню Йорк, където получава 45000 USD годишно – сума, равностойна на доходите на жителите на един китайски град през 80-те години на XX век, както уточнява авторката Мередит.

През последните петдесет години съдбата на Тони Ма и тази на страната му вървят по един и същи път – от нищета и жестокост към упорит труд, надежда и успех. Днес младите универ-

ситетски випускници в Пекин са наясно, че годишна заплата от 15000 USD в Китай е по-висока от 45000 в САЩ. Те не желаят да се преместят в Съединените щати или някъде другаде, защото променен Китай им предлага много възможности. Висшето образование пък – още повече.

През 2003 г. индийският министър-председател Ваджпай казва на китайските си домакини в Пекин: „Ние сме двете страни с най-многобройно население и имаме най-бързо развиващите се икономики в света – вашата е по-динамична от нашата" (Пак там, 54). След това се качва на самолета си *Air India One*, отлита за Делхи, каца на порутеното летище и е откаран до дома си по разбити пътища. Лидерите на страната се съгласяват, че присъединяването към световната икономика по примера на Китай е в интерес на Индия. Бившата колония взима исторически решения за бъдещето на страната си, която години наред е предпочитала да разчита само на себе си. Завещанието на символа Ганди да не се допускат стоки отвън и да се бойкотира чуждото производство е напът да отиде в историята. Индия е разбрала, че миналото трябва да престане да бъде ориентир и двигател на настоящето и най-после тръгва по стъпките на Китай.

Още в средата на първото десетилетие на XXI в. тогавашният търговски министър Камал Натх съветва, че Индия трябва да проучи успехите на Китай и след това да приложи опита му според нейните особености. Той смята, че Китай се е реформирал по-бързо, защото е тоталитарен, а „ние отговаряме пред Парламента и пред нашата много, много свободна преса". И продължава: „Китай не е демокрация и това му позволи да съкрати пътя на развитие. С правителствено постановление проектът „Трите клисури" оставя 365 града под вода, а 1,2 милиона души трябва да бъдат изселени. Това не би могло да се случи в Индия".

Един индийски анекдот разказва как Дън Сяопин седи в колата си и чете вестник. Шофьорът му го прекъсва и казва: „Другарю, имаме проблем. На знака пише *Завий наляво за комунизъм, завий надясно за капитализъм!*, накъде да тръгна? Дън казва на шофьора: Няма проблем. Дай ляв мигач и завий надясно" (Пак там, 58).

Напредъкът на индийските проекти за развитие е непостоянен, като че ли страната все още се колебае дали иска да бъде част от съвременния свят. Индийците се шегуват, че Индия е като пиян човек, тръгнал за вкъщи – една крачка напред, две встрани, понякога залитне назад, но накрая все пак успява да си стигне. Третият по големина град в Индия, Бангалор, вече не принадлежи към развиващия се свят. Известен е като индийската Силициева долина и като инкубатор на технологичните гении, наемани за участие в най-модерните компютърни програми на САЩ. Тук са огромните заводи на *Infosys Wipro* и половината от разрастващата се биотехнологична продукция; компании като *General Electric, Philips Electronics, Intel* и *Nokia* имат тук офиси със стотици служители, свързани със световната икономика чрез високоскоростен Интернет. Инфраструктурата на града обаче започва да се подобрява едва когато *Infosys* заплашва да изнесе производството си на друго място, ако не бъде построено ново летище. През 1996 г. в Индия има 300000 мобилни телефона, а през 2007 достигат 150 милиона. Месечно се купуват по 7 милиона – дори водачът на рикша и уличният продавач на зеленчуци ползват безжичен телефон.

Въпреки необходимостта от съгласие на различни институции, политически партии, NGO, местния бизнес и гражданите, нещата, макар и лъкатушно, се случват. „В Индия пътят на реформите е все още толкова неравен, колкото и улиците“, заключава Мередит.

Днес младите индийци обсъждат предимствата на „брака по любов“ в Интернет. В най-големия онлайн сайт за брачни услуги има повече от 30 милиона потребители. Сватбените традиции също се менят: след сватбата жените отказват да готвят за цялото „мъжово домочадие“, да приготвят ежедневно обяд на съпруга си, да пастьоризират млякото в домашни условия. Дори при уговорените бракове бъдещи младоженци се запознават с няколко потенциални партньори, сред които сами избират. Авторката разказва „сватбената“ история на г-ца Ниша Шарма, специалист по софтуер. В сватбения ден тя набира номера на полицията и ги моли да дойдат и да арестуват годеника ѝ. Причината: минути преди началото на церемонията, неговото семейство неочаквано

настоява за зестра от 27000 USD и нов лек автомобил. Зестрите в Индия са официално забранени от 1961 г., но практиката за предаване на скъпи подаръци от страна на семейството на булката реално продължава. Годеникът на г-ца Шарма влиза в затвора, а тя се прочува и днес постъпката ѝ се изучава от децата в училище. Тъкмо индийските юпита[4] са на път да вземат „десния завой" на Дън. След като си купи кола или мотоциклет, младият човек вижда, че няма къде да ги кара, защото пътищата са лоши. Не само чуждите инвеститори, но и индийците настояват за по-добра инфраструктура. Липсата на такава във всяка една област обезсмисля придобиването на сериозни материални средства. Възходът на Индия създава стотици хиляди млади „технологични махараджи". А махараджата обикновено знае какво иска и как да го постигне.

На регулираните западни пазари компаниите се стремят да продават стоки на най-богатите 20% от клиентите – тези на върха на пирамидата на доходите. 80% от стоките на компанията се продават на тази група. Предизвикателствата на индийския пазар преобръщат тази идея, защото повечето пари на индийския пазар се намират на дъното на пирамидата от доходи. Професор Прахалад от Университета в Мичиган твърди, че продажбата на стоки „на дъното на пирамидата" е бъдещето на световния бизнес поради големия брой потенциални клиенти в Индия и Китай. Според Световната банка в света има 4 милиарда души на дъното на пирамидата, които харчат 5 трилиона USD годишно.

Изпълнителният директор на *Philips* за Индия е проумял идеята и твърди, че истинската покупателна сила на Индия идва от бедното население. Ако един милиард души харчат редовно малка, дори съвсем малка сума, накрая се получава колосална парична величина. Промяната в стратегията може да се сравни с решението на компанията да продава евтино медицинско оборудване на корпоративния пазар в Китай. Разликата е, че в Индия тя е насочена към отделния потребител. *Philips* оборудва с медицинска техника един микробус да обикаля из селските

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[4] Юпи – лексикализирана абревиатура на английския израз young professional, млад професионалист.

райони, където „доктор“ е непозната дума. Микробусът осигурява лекарска помощ и диагностична апаратура – за рентгенови снимки и ядрено-магнитен резонанс. Болните от провинцията вече получават диагноза и лечение, без да напускат селото си.

Philips наподобява прeродилата се East India Company – известен морски превозвач по Пътя на подправките, свързващ Индия и Европа през XVI–XVIII век. Точно като East India Company, *Philips* превозва стоки от Азия до купувачите на Запад. Тези стоки не са канела и черен пипер и не се превозват с галеони до Европа за една година. Това са потребителски технически уреди, които с модерни кораби днес могат да изминат пътя от Китай до Лос Анджелис за единайсет дни.

Докато Индия започва да доставя съвършени мозъци за новата глобална икономика, Китай продължава да осигурява грубата сила. Китайските фабрични работници, независимо дали правят електрически крушки, говорещи играчки или маратонки, печелят дневно толкова, колкото американците плащат за едно кафе в *Starbucks*. И както пише авторката, като вземем предвид всичко това, Китай олицетворява двойната мечта на западните компании – едновременно намаляване на разходите и увеличаване на приходите.

Едва ли някога досега световният пазар е бил толкова взаимосвързан. Разтърсващото икономическо развитие на Индия и Китай води до разместване на икономически и геополитически пластове по цялата планета. И понеже днес никой не разчита на камилски кервани и мачтови кораби, а на високи транспортни технологии и интернет, вече е по-скоро лесно да си представим как търговията по Пътя на коприната се свързва с тази по Пътя на подправките. Потенциалното мощно влияние на пробудилите се от хилядолетен митологичен сън слон и дракон върху целия свят през идните десетилетия нерядко буди страх. Нерядко се и подценява. Ако тези две гигантски нации, които внезапно отвориха вратите си и буквално нахлуха в XXI век бъдат разбрани, целият останал свят може да има само полза, мотив и катализатор за възход и просперитет. Приличащи по-скоро на извод, последните няколко твърдения на Мередит всъщност са премислен професионален аргумент за написването на „Сло-

нът и Драконът", ословесен в прекрасен публицистичен текст с елементи на художествен вкус и майсторство, увлекателен стил и силен журналистически нюх към най-ценното в океана от факти и събития. Казаното звучи и като премерена, но твърде близка до вярното „синоптична прогноза" за геополитическия и икономически климат в света през първите две десетилетия на XXI век.

Все още пита ли се някой дали двете метафори от заглавието на книгата на Робин Мередит – слонът и драконът – са случайни и неадекватни? Специалистите по символика казват, че драконът е митологичен аналог на Ин и Ян – т.е., на вечното единство на противоположностите. Полу на шега казвам на студентите, че каквото и да чуят за Индия, все е вярно. От тази книга научих, че сякаш същото се отнася и за Китай. А една книга винаги е „нова", ако не си я чел. Пожелавам Ви това удоволствие.

Икономика и политика

Economics and Politics

„Мините“ по Новия път на коприната

Антонина Хабова

Abstract

In 2013 the Chinese President Xi Jinping announced two new projects – the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, which have become the major pillars of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). BRI is the most significant foreign policy initiative of China in the last few decades as well as the most ambitious geostrategic project on the global stage.

The Chinese initiative vividly contrasts the processes within the international system – disintegration tendencies, outbreaks of instability, conflicts, increasing tensions between the major actors in international relations. It also challenges the established Western-centric world order.

The route of the Silk Road Economic Belt passes through the strategic center of Eurasia. Geopolitically, the project could be viewed as part of a strategy of uniting the "world island" and, according to H. Mackinder, who rules the World-island controls the world. Viewed through this prism, the Chinese strategy constitutes a seious challenge to the interests of the United States, Russia, the EU and various regional actors in this strategically important part of the world. Hence, this report aimes at briefly reviewing the major potential external challenges to the development of the land route of the New Silk Road applying mainly geopolitical approach.

Keywords: China, Silk Road Economic Belt, geopolitics

Въведение

Стратегията „Поясът и пътят“, обявена от китайския президент Си Дзинпин през 2013 г., е най-амбициозният геостратегически проект на глобалната сцена през последните десетилетия, чиято основна декларирана цел е свързване на Азия, Европа и Африка. Сухопътният компонент от стратегията – Икономическият пояс „Новият път на коприната“ – е директно предизвикателство за геополитическото равновесие в стратегически важното евразийско пространство, а оттам и за западната доминация в глобалната система и установения западноцентричен световен ред.

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Макиндър, Хартлендът и китайското предизвикателство

Евразия се разглежда от основоположниците на геополитиката като структурен елемент на световната система, а концепцията за Хартленда и „световния остров" на сър Х. Макиндър започва отново да звучи актуално след края на Студената война, когато основното геополитическо съперничество „напуска" територията на същинска Европа и се измества на изток към центъра на Евразия. Според Макиндър силата, която е способна да доминира огромния евразийски масив, неговите ресурси и население, ще е в състояние да доминира света.

Маршрутът на Икономическия пояс „Път на коприната" преминава именно през стратегическия център на Евразия. Следвайки собствена логика и подход, с реализирането на отделни елементи от стратегията Китай увеличава геополитическата си тежест и влияние и поставя предизвикателство пред баланса на силите в тази част на света. От гледна точка на класическата геополитика, към която самите китайци остават резервирани, инициативата може да се разглежда като ключов инструмент за обединяване на „световния остров", както и за разбиване на американската глобална доминация. Погледнато в по-общ план, китайската стратегия за „Новия път на коприната" е сериозно предизвикателство за класическата геополитика, доколкото крайната цел на практика е обединяване на страните от Хартленда и Римленда, използвайки концепцията за сухоземната и морската сила (Pieraccini 2017).

Реакция на глобалния хегемон

Съединените щати са външен на Евразия и на китайската стратегия фактор. Те обаче имат стратегически интереси, своя визия за региона и богат инструментариум за въздействие върху процесите в него. През 2012 г. Зб. Бжежински пише: „Както най-непосредствената външнополитическа заплаха за глобалния статус на Америка, така и дългосрочното геополитическо предизвикателство към геополитическата стабилност се зараждат на евразийския континент. Непосредствената заплаха по-

настоящем е съсредоточена в региона източно от Суецкия канал, западно от Уйгурския автономен регион, южно от руските постсъветски граници в Кавказ и с новите централноазиатски държави" (Бжежински 2012: 173). Описаното от Бжежински пространство в голяма степен покрива трасето на Икономическия пояс „Път на коприната".

Изграждането на една цяла икономическа зона, простираща се от източния бряг на Китай до Атлантическото крайбрежие на Европа, ще позволи на китайската държава да намали зависимостта си от морските транспортни пътища, повечето от които са контролирани от САЩ, ще промени траекторията на геополитическата сила от морската периферия към континенталната сърцевина, ще подкопае съществуващия баланс на силите в Европа и Азия и ще постави сериозно предизвикателство пред съществуващия международен ред (McCoy 2015).

Логично е Вашингтон да се опита да препятства този процес в опит да съхрани позициите си в Евразия и в световната политика и икономика. За неутрализирането на тези заплахи САЩ биха могли да въздействат върху определени уязвими зони, да упражнят влияние с цел дестабилизиране на ситуацията и саботиране на китайските усилия. Голямата въпросителна тук е изходът от борбата в самите Съединени щати между две визии за поведението на САЩ на международната сцена – едната, по-изолационистка, олицетворявана от настоящия президент Д. Тръмп, и втората, по-интервенционистка, свързвана често с бившия държавен секретар на страната Х. Клинтън.

Тест за трансатлантическото единство

Успехът на инициативата Икономически пояс „Път на коприната" е невъзможен без тясно сътрудничество на Китай с икономиката на Европейския съюз. Меморандумът за разбирателство по *Платформата за свързаност ЕС – Китай* от 2015 г. е сигнал за динамизиране на отношенията ЕС – Китай, но и сериозен тест за съюзническите отношения на Съюза със САЩ и американските интереси в Европа. Практическото реализиране на идеята за „Нов път на коприната" би спомогнало за разширяване на

комуникационните, търговски и икономически връзки на ЕС с Евразия и с Китай, което ще ерозира значението на трансатлантическите търговски връзки (Ghiasy, Zhou 2017: 10). Нещо повече, според проф. Уън И-уей от Университета Женмин в Пекин, новата китайска инициатива може да помогне за пренасочване на центъра на геополитическата тежест от Съединените щати отново към Евразия и за връщане на баланса в „асиметричните" сега отношения САЩ – ЕС (Yiwei, 2015).

Съединените щати имат безспорен стратегически интерес от запазването на единно атлантическо партньорство. Както Х. Кисинджър посочва, „ако бъдат разделени от Европа – в политическо, икономическо и отбранително отношение, Съединените щати ще станат геополитически остров край бреговете на Евразия, а самата Европа може да стане придатък към апетитите на Азия и Близкия изток" (Kissinger 2015: 95). В този контекст са възможни американски действия за запазване на лостовете за активно влияние върху европейските партньори, от една страна, и върху процесите, които протичат в Евразия, от друга, с цел предотвратяване на изграждането на широка рамка на диалог и сътрудничество между ЕС, Китай и държавите от евразийското пространство.

Процесите в самия Европейски съюз обаче също крият рискове за цялостното реализиране на китайската стратегия. Съюзът е ангажиран с решаване на проблеми, свързани с кризата в еврозоната, излизането на Великобритания, евроскептичните и анти-имигрантски настроения, както и с генералния въпрос за бъдещето на Съюза. Задълбочаващите се геостратегически разделения, липсата на кохезия във външната политика на Съюза като цяло и в политиката спрямо Китай в частност са друг възможен източник на риск за изпълнението на китайската стратегия.

Сбъдва ли се геополитическият кошмар на САЩ?

В духа на Макиндър, Бжежински определя като ключов елемент от западната (американска) стратегия в евразийския регион поддържането на геополитически плурализъм на картата на Евразия. Доколкото в ситуацията на изострено напрежение между

Вашингтон и Москва идеята на Бжежински за постигане на определена степен на съгласуваност и сътрудничество по конкретни въпроси на Евразия между САЩ, Русия и Китай изглежда трудна за реализиране (Brzezinski 2016), ключов геополитически императив за САЩ остава недопускането на съюз между Русия и Китай.

Събитията в Украйна и ескалацията на напрежението в отношенията с ЕС обаче служат като катализатор на точно обратния процес: обръщането на Русия на изток. Стремежът за присъединяване към Европа, за създаване на една „Голяма Европа“ от Лисабон до Владивосток отстъпва място на стремежа към изграждане на „Голяма Азия“ от Шанхай до Санкт Петербург. Както посочва Дм. Тренин от Московския център „Карнеги“, Евразия трябва да се превърне в нов център на икономическо и политическо привличане, където Русия и Китай задават тона без ненужната намеса на САЩ (Trenin, 2015).

Обръщането на Русия на изток и западният марш на Китай срещат двете държави, без това да означава пълно съвпадение между геостратегическите цели на двете държави. През последното десетилетие Китай постига сериозен напредък в укрепването на своите позиции в сърцето на Евразия, в част от случаите за сметка именно на стесняване на руското влияние в зони на руски стратегически интереси (Централна Азия, Източна Европа). Двете страни имат и своите различни визии и интеграционни проекти за евразийското пространство, които се явяват важни елементи в техните глобални стратегии.

В условията на стеснени геополитически и геоикономически параметри обаче Русия не разполага с достатъчен капацитет да устои на натиска на няколко съперничещи центрове на сила. Когато отношенията с ЕС и САЩ са сериозно обтегнати, много по-вероятно изглежда Москва да избере тактическо партньорство с Китай. Самият Китай се нуждае от стабилност в отношенията си с Русия, която е основен компонент от Хартленда. Общият интерес от преодоляване на западната доминация в международните отношения е предпоставка за намиране на формула за съчетаване на техните интереси и амбиции в евразийското пространство. Устойчивостта на тази тенденция ще зависи от

процесите в Русия, развитието на отношенията между Москва и Запада и перспективите пред руските интеграционни проекти.

Уязвими зони

Отвъд съперничеството и взаимното недоверие между основните центрове на сила, които имат интереси в евразийското пространство, редица други предизвикателства стоят по пътя към реализирането на сухопътния компонент в стратегията „Поясът и пътят“.

Източник: агенция „Синхуа“

Карта 1. Икономически пояс „Път на коприната“ и Морски път на коприната на 21 век

Както посочва Ф. Лукянов (Lukyanov, 2015: 291–2), незападният свят е твърде разнообразен в културно отношение и не е движен от универсални идеологически конструкции като Запада. Държавите по трасето на Новия път на коприната са дълбоко разделени, липсва им обща идентичност, около която да се обединят. Налице са разногласия, съперничество и териториални спорове между част от тях. Политическо напрежение, корупция, недостатъчен институционен капацитет, тероризъм, екстремизъм, конфликти и влошена среда на сигурност в държавите по трасето са сред пречките, с които китайската политика може да се сблъска.

Централна Азия. Централна Азия е ключов компонент от Икономическия пояс „Път на коприната“, но и едно от най-уязвимите звена в него. Регионът е естествена комуникационна връзка между Изтока и Запада и част от по-широкия географски

пояс, обхващащ също Близкия изток и Каспийския басейн, контролът върху който се счита за решаващ с оглед на доминиращото положение на една или друга държава в международната система. Логично регионът е обект на геополитическо съперничество между основни центрове на сила (Русия, САЩ, Китай, ЕС) с всички произтичащи от това последици.

Сред потенциалните източници на нестабилност в централноазиатските републики са: сложната етническа мозайка; противоречия, свързани с достъпа до ресурси; недоверие и амбиции за лидерство в региона; етническо напрежение във Ферганската долина; радикален ислям; организирана престъпност; узбекистанските анклави в Киргизстан и Казахстан; смяна на лидерството в отделните републики.

Афганистан, който свързва Централна и Южна Азия, остава основен източник на несигурност в разширения регион на Централна Азия. Нестабилната политическа ситуация, опасността от гражданска война и разпад на държавата, превръщането на Афганистан в източник на ислямски екстремизъм и престъпната дейност са сериозни заплахи за китайските планове за свързаност между Европа и Азия.

Близък изток. Регионът на Близкия изток, който е пресечна точка за сухопътното и морско трасе на „Поясът и пътят", е друго силно уязвимо звено в китайската стратегия.

Регионът, обременен от сериозни вътрешни проблеми, преминава през период на трансформация, който крие много рискове. Реална е опасността от конфликти по различни линии на разлом, сред които: шиити – сунити; араби – израелци; араби – кюрди; турци – кюрди; Иран – Саудитска Арабия, Иран – Израел и др. Войната в Сирия, ситуацията в Ирак и действията и по-нататъшните „превъплъщения" на „Ислямска държава" също са сред сериозните предизвикателства, които биха препятствали реализирането на китайските планове за свързаност. Не трябва да се пренебрегва вероятността от социални размирици, политическа нестабилност в някои държави и дори промяна на междудържавните граници в региона. Остава и опасността от нарастване на напрежението между основните външни сили,

които се стремят да проектират влияние и сила в тази част на света.

Иран, ключова държава в Хартленда, която демонстрира нарастващи геополитически способности, е сред основните фактори, които ще определят бъдещото съотношение на силите в евразийското пространство. Враждебното отношение на новия американски президент Д. Тръмп към Иран, както и задълбочаващото се стратегическо партньорство по оста Иран – Русия – Китай обаче крие риска от предприемането от страна на САЩ на по-нататъшни действия, целящи не само ограничаване на нарастващото иранско влияние в региона, но и препятстване на процеса на преструктуриране на геополитическия баланс в Близкия изток.

Турция, като ключова връзка между Близкия и Средния изток и Югоизточна Европа, е важен елемент от стратегията „Поясът и пътят". В същото време турската държава е изправена пред проблеми, които могат сериозно да препятстват развитието на китайската инициатива. Тези проблеми са свързани с характера и стабилността на управлението на Ердоган, дълбокото разделение в турското общество, „кюрдския въпрос". „Охлаждането" на отношенията на Турция със САЩ, напрежението в диалога с ЕС, „затоплянето" на отношенията с Русия са само част от признаците за сериозния сблъсък на стратегии на външни фактори, които касаят турската държава и съдържат потенциал за дестабилизиране.

Украйна. Ситуацията в Украйна безспорно също е сред факторите, от чието развитие ще зависи бъдещето на идеите за по-голяма трансконтинентална свързаност. След събитията от 2014 г. обаче страната се нарежда и сред най-уязвимите точки по трасето на Икономическия пояс „Път на коприната". Политическата нестабилност, проблеми, произтичащи от нерешени въпроси на националното развитие, въоръженият конфликт в Източна Украйна, както и пресичането на съперничещи си геополитически интереси на нейна територия, носят висок риск от по-нататъшна дестабилизация.

Южна Азия и ***Южен Кавказ*** са други два важни за китайската стратегия региона със сложна динамика, вътрешни противоречия и конфликти, пресичащи се външни влияния, които биха могли да затруднят китайските планове.

Заключение

Китайската стратегия за Нов път на коприната има потенциал съществено да промени геополитическия и гео-икономическия пейзаж в Евразия и да катализира прехода към постлиберален международен ред.

Китайският успех обаче зависи от развитието на ситуацията в турболетните райони по трасето на инициативата, реакцията на други центрове на сила в международната система, както и от способността на Пекин успешно да разрешава възникващите проблеми. Силата на Китай може да се окаже в различния (от западния) подход, който поставя в центъра държавния суверенитет, принципа за ненамеса във вътрешните работи; подход, който не налага „универсални" правила, а търси сътрудничество между различни държави, с различни култури и политически системи.

Независимо от бъдещото развитие на китайската стратегия „Поясът и пътят", външнополитическата активност на Китай в западна посока ще има съществено влияние върху международните отношения.

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Chinese perception of World Races: Representations and Disjunctions

Banwo Adetoro Olaniyi

Abstract

   The modern-day world is replete with newly constructed identities of races and a quintessence of race contradictions. Race-based inferences and stereotypes are not new phenomena. However, there seems to be a paradigm shift in such conceptualization. Social relations are reinforced through stigmatization and irrational ideological beliefs that project an everlasting representation of perceived identities.

   While Western scholars have adopted a genetic approach to the understanding of world races, Chinese scholars have imbibed the use of physical aesthetics or appearances to understand race constructs. They have also adopted a revolutionary Sino-centric view which is devoid of the theories of human diversity, phenotypical traits and evolutionary theories. With China becoming a global actor in the realm of the international community, a full understanding of these perceptions becomes imminent. Thus the perception of races around the world will be discussed and it will be hinged on academic neutrality and an ethical submission of facts.

   Keywords: Races, representations, disjunctions, sinocentric views and perceptions

Introduction

The concept of race theories has overwhelmed the study of human nature and their construction of their identities. Race as a concept became a defining feature of the modern discipline of anthropology and ethnology (the science of races) in the first half of the nineteenth century (Baum 2006: 100). Furthermore, there are existing theories about racial groups in the field of anthropology. Monogenism is a race theory derived from the logic that all human beings descended from Adam and Eve. (Bolaffi 2003: 183). Evidently, one doctrine, Polygenism states that races are separate species with ancient and

separate origins. Samuel George Morton's theory stands distinct in the natural sciences with the examination of hundreds of human and animal skulls. He measured the human skulls of different races and revealed the essential quality and the mental worth of the owner. He therefore came to the conclusion that skulls proved that different human races showed different, essentially immutable head shapes (Jackson & Weidman 2004: 45).

Consequently, the understanding of race and identities was based on scientific evidence and multiple theories that exposed the uniqueness of human beings. The evidence for race theories must be based on observable physiological correlates. Darwin was intrigued by the distinguishable features of different people. His theory was based on the isolation of species that produces differences in gene sub-pools which is evidenced by the variation in superficial characteristics (Gates 1997: 96). Apparently, this dynamic formulation about races came from a wealth of perhaps arguable but yet contestable facts of rationality and irrationality. With these perceptible notions, one can understand some methodologies that shaped the world design of races but not the Chinese constructs. How then did the Chinese apprehend and grasp the races of the different world?

The Chinese on World Races

Chinese conceptualization of races came in different forms and connotations. While it is not disputable that western academic sources influenced Chinese perception of world races, other influences radiated from the transcendence of Chinese culture in ancient times.

Yan Fu (嚴復, 1854–1921) introduced the concept of race into China by translating the works of Darwin, Spencer and Thomas H. Huxley on evolution. He asserted that the purpose of promoting western learning in China was for the self-strengthening and preservation of the Chinese race. His work highly inveigled early Chinese reformers in their analyses of race and the construction of world identities (Lan 2012: 36). Chinese scrutiny of world races did not come with an objective connotation; it was diced and coated with idiosyncratic reasoning and cultural chauvinism that attempted to radiate the nobility of the Chinese culture to stir up nation building (Tan & Chan 1984: 52).

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Correspondently, Gu Shoubai (1924) in his book *Anthropology* (Renleixue 人類學) saw the Burmese as being lazy, the Thai as cowards, the Vietnamese as frivolous and unscrupulous. The Aborigines of Australia and South America were seen as extremely philistine. The Abyssinians were a horse eating tribe while the Australian aborigines were cannibals. Similarly, the Taiwanese barbarians were anthropophagite in nature when they were idle. To the Chinese, the Australian aborigines were the most inferior race on the earth. Similarly, Zhou Qichang perceived the Japanese as a race of tiny ugly men coming from a yellowish or darkish race. They were also characterized by a fat body, large and square head, protruding cheeks, slanting eyes, a flat nose and a big mouth (Dikötter 2015: 96).

Additionally, the Chinese also dissected the Jewish race within their purviews of the Jews. The "Jew or the Jewish" portrayed a complex identity to them, thus this race symbolized affluence, deviousness, and meanness; it could also characterize poverty, trustworthiness, and warm-heartedness. They also denoted a strong collective spirit; likewise, they had religious as well as secular meanings. They could also represent "a stateless slave or a dominant power in the world". The "Jews" were seen as nationalists and cosmopolitans that adopted any form of government to survive. These Chinese perceptions of the Jews were superficial and it relied on the "western influence" and representations of the "Jews" (Kupfer 2008: 201–203).Yu Songhua (1927), a left-wing Chinese intellectual saw them as the happiest race in the world because for generations they were able to constantly produce many of the world's best talents. However, they were in constant conflict as to what constituted their geographical entity but yet their constant reflection of cheerfulness is mesmerizing. (Zhou 2001: 101–102).

Subsequently, the Chinese also assessed the Germans but refused to accept Germany's anti-Semitic policy and were sympathetic to the plight of the Jews. The Germans to the Chinese are seen as "a healthy, vibrant and positive race". They saw the Germans' plight as a light necessary for the national revival of China. They advocated that the Germans maintained a strong source of unity of the *volk* and even tried to promote such anti-Semitism in China in the early republican period (Gao 2013:18).

In addition, the Chinese also evaluated the Indian race through colonization and oppression. The problem of Indian colonialism under British rule was used by early scholars to show how a nation can become weak and can perish. India was an example that early revolutionaries used in their discourse of race (*zhongzhu* 種族) and nation (*minzu* 民族). They introduced two concepts by merging these two elements together to open a platform to discuss "national imperialism" (Kaske 2007: 326).

Apparently, the initial Chinese concept of world races came from multiple sources and the dangers of relying on secondary sources of information are imminent. While the sources of information cannot be readily verified, it provided a basis and foundation for the Chinese to make inferences and deductions for race perceptions. Despite this, can these notions be accepted as the true consciousness of the Chinese about world races? It becomes imperative to scrutinize race views through the available Chinese scholarly records and extract their perspectives from the narratives.

Race analysis by the Chinese

An overview of world races revealed existing phenomena and categorizations were adopted from western sources. In history, the Chinese documented the decline, decay, flourishing and the survival of races, for example they reiterated that the white races flourished while the brown race decayed. The brown race based in the South Sea Islands could not pull themselves upward so they declined. The dwindling rate of the brown race was alarming, in the area of Java, there were once 50,000,000 brown people which was reduced drastically to 50,000 people (Yu 1915: 14–15).

The Chinese discourses also dwelt on how people used aesthetics to make racial categorizations and judgments, thus they viewed racism with abhorrence and satiety. They connoted that this was an intrinsic fact that could not be overlooked. For the Chinese, aesthetics and languages were distinguished features of races. The white race had white skin, blonde hair, grey/blue eyes, high noses and a strong body figure while the yellow race had ivory skin, black hair, and flat faces. The Chinese strongly upheld these values of the judgement of

race appearance and beautification; they inferred the coherent fact that psychological differences of world races were a major cause of racism, prejudice, and biases (Tao 1926a: 10).

Simultaneously, as the Chinese made inferences about races of Asia and the west, they also carved out their consciousness about the black race of Africa. The understanding of Africans was embedded in a term used to describe them, the Kunlun slave (*Kunlun nu* 崑崙奴). Their name had several connotations and consequences, it often connoted primitive anarchism of a tribe which lacked a geographical boundary on the one hand and on the other it was also used in reference to a magical mountain. The first records of blacks in the Chinese courts can be traced to the extraordinary visit of the Arab delegation to the Song court in 977. Chinese archives documented that their slaves had deep-socket eyes and their bodies were as black as coal. The Arabs presented the Kunluns to the Chinese around the eighth and the tenth centuries where they provided service to the Tang dynasty courts (Snow 1988: 17).

The records of the Tang dynasty also offered greater insights into the identity construction of blacks in China. In the *New Dynastic History of Tang* (Xin Tangshu 新唐書), it described the black tribes and their living conditions. It mentioned the ten tribes that resided in Africa that used salt wells to survive and recalled that many wealthy people of Canton kept black Kunlun slaves who were endowed with prodigious strength and could carry burdens of enormous weight. They were also described as having inky black skin, red lips, white teeth and wholly tawny hair (Chang 1930: 37–59).

Lin Zexu in his records the *Gazetteer of four continents* documented a far-reaching element of the people of Africa. He saw them as poverty-stricken slaves that lacked any form of skills with bright round eyes with a high nose and thick lips, to him also the people of this country were extremely black. He connoted that they were mischievous, tricky, cunning, foxy and dishonest people (Lin 2002: 29-38). The Chinese also constructed the black racial identity from the management of the affairs of their homeland and geographical location. They posited that the black people were a race with a completely unorganized government. Thus the blacks are linked with their country and the hotness of the region; this hotness

not only affected their skin color but also influenced the performances of their brains (Tao 1926b: 7–10).

Conclusion

The above reveals how the Chinese had constructed different races in their own crania of ideological thoughts and historical culture; however, how valid are their suppositions? Have these thoughts been scientifically proven or have they been based on narratives transferred from one generation to another? Thus, what are the intrinsic problems that existed in the construction of race distinctiveness by the Chinese?

One of the major problems of perception theories stems from the over-reliance on theories which perhaps lack any form of empirical research. The Chinese in their construction of race ideologies relied on multiple theories which lacked pragmatic investigations or evidence. Phillip Huang asserted that the reliance on theories of this nature makes the researcher corruptive. Another problem that dwells in the Chinese racial construction was the extensive use of unverifiable theories that systematically influence ideologies. Chinese ideologies of race construction lacked any form of verifiable connection with the theories, thus the juxtaposition of fiction over facts becomes a natural phenomenon. Furthermore, another influencing factor was the strong effect of Western-centrism, culturalism, Sino-centrism and radical culturalism on current cultural studies. Western-centrism was clearly obvious from the theories of the West which were bounded and disheveled in this culture which was further embellished with imperialism. These cultural theories are emphasized with a constructed representation which lacks objective evidence but revolves around representations. The lack of objectivity or evidence in such theories makes factual evidence to be fabricated evidence enclosed with a high degree of representation that reflects a historical cultural orientation (Huang 1998: 183–208).

In addition, problems of Chinese perception theories also came from translated texts, heavily translated texts by Yan Fu who was an important, influential and intellectual figure in the development of racial theories in China. His work explicitly influenced Chinese

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literati who tried to understand and assess western civilization and its importance for the development of China. Despite Yan's magnanimous effort, his work had been riddled with what scholars term "linguistic incompetence, political orientation, cultural influence, and inaccuracies" (Chu & Mak 2003: 25–44).

Lastly, nationalism was another inherent factor that has hindered an objective view of the Chinese during the construction of identities. It was an era of building sinocentric views and mobilizing all energies of the people towards giving the Chinese race a symbolic value and supremacy over all races. (John 2011: 894). Chinese nationalism was therefore built in this era on a sense of xenophobia which resulted in sporadic outbursts such as the Boxer uprising and the May Fourth Movement (Hasegawa & Kazuhiko 2008: 22).

In conclusion, distinguishable events from the narratives above revealed that Chinese construction of world races came through a superfluidity of sources, verifiable and unverifiable, mostly built around sinocentrism and the projection of a powerful Chinese culture and tradition. The dilemma of over-relying on secondary sources and disputable sources makes some of their assertions contentious and strongly debatable. Nonetheless, the extensive documentation of races in Chinese archives provides information and exposure of a different kind to the Chinese audience and the Chinese scholars.

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Standardisation along the Silk Road Economic Belt

Ivaylo Gatev

Abstract

Standardisation, or the formulation of common standards, in international transport is a process whereby national infrastructures link up and become interoperable. The benefits of standardisation stem from improved connectivity between transport systems. These benefits however are not distributed equally. Standardisation, like most transnational processes, produces winners and losers. For this reason, standardisation is a deeply contested process accompanied by intense competition over whose standards and organisational routines will be carried into infrastructural form. This paper takes transcontinental rail freight between China and Europe as a case study of standardisation in the railway sector. Eurasian rail freight is fragmented along several national and regional transport sectors governed by distinct technological and organisational regimes. The paper examines how these technological regimes are rendered interoperable on the basis of common standards. It focuses on the main actors who participate in this process, the sites where common standards are forged, and the battles that accompany their emergence.

Introduction

The Silk Road Economic Belt consists of physical networks that enable the flow of goods, people, and information and that mediate their interaction and exchange over distance (Larkin, 2013). Presently this infrastructure is largely fragmented along national lines. This is a consequence of an international system that for a long time has been organised around states with their own national economies governed by distinct technological and organisational regimes. This paper examines how railway systems that are different in terms of infrastructure, equipment and management

are rendered interoperable on the basis of common standards. It focuses on the main actors who participate in this process, the sites where common standards are forged, and the battles that accompany their emergence. It is argued that the Silk Road Economic Belt is a technological space in the early stages of its development. It represents a dyssynchronous mosaic of standards slowly coalescing under the pressure of standardisation.

An Archipelago of Standards

As an amalgam of engineering, regulatory and financial techniques, infrastructure is governed by standards or established ways of doing things. This section will attempt to map the archipelago of standards prevalent along the Silk Road Economic Belt. The term archipelago or mosaic is used to describe standards that vary not only from one country to the next, but also from one railway corridor to another in the same country. This paper will differentiate between technical standards, regulatory frameworks, and differences arising from diverging models of transport sector organisation.

Technical Standards

One of the most important difference in technical standards between railway systems that has a direct impact on their interoperability is the track gauge. The track gauge varies between countries, and within countries, between railway corridors. In Europe and China, the standard (1435mm) gauge prevails, whereas in the post-Soviet space the broad (1520mm) gauge is the norm. Differences in track gauge between national rail systems require transfers of rolling stock using container lift gear. Systems using wagons capable of switching bogies of different gauge are being developed and new lines extending the wide gauge network to Western Europe and Eastern Asia, or establishing a standard gauge line across Eurasia, are being planned (Slack, 2000: 6).

Another discrepancy in technical standards concerns rolling stock gauge. The term refers to the maximum outline round the rolling stock that enables it to move along the tracks. As with track gauge, rolling stock gauge varies from country to country which hampers

interoperability. For example, in China gondola cars are used in rail freight which are different from the flat cars used in Russia and the EU in terms of handling. Port sidings in Kazakhstan different from those in other countries along the Silk Road Economic Belt likewise pose problems (Interview, 10 May 2017).

Traction or propulsion systems are a third area of technical divergence between and within national railway systems that affects the efficiency of the network. In addition to diesel, trains along the Silk Road use electricity as a source of power. Electrification systems are classified according to voltage, current and frequency. By and large, 3 kV DC is used in Europe, 3 kV DC and 25 kV AC 50 Hz are used in Russia, and 25 kV AC 50 Hz are used in Belarus, Kazakhstan and China (NEAR², 2013: 52,70). This requires change of locomotives at several points along the corridor which slows down the operation.

The next interoperability issue along the Silk Road Economic Belt concerns signalling. In Europe the European Rail Traffic Management System (ERTMS) is used, while in Russia they use Automatic Block Signalling, and Kazakhstan and China use Lateral Electric signalling (NEAR², 33–34, 52). The use of three different signalling systems along the Silk Road Economic Belt affects the efficiency of the network by necessitating changes of train drivers and, where necessary, rolling stock.

Track capacity is another area of infrastructure divergence between different segments of the route. Track capacity depends above on the number of tracks laid along a corridor. In Europe and Russia track capacity is high, whereas in Kazakhstan and China it is low. Track capacity is important for rail freight because it enables routing additional trains in a rail corridor (NEAR², 2013: 52). This has significant throughput implications. Scheduling blocks of container trains on tracks that are already highly used results in congestion and costly delays and thus are a challenge to network operators.

The varying capacity of the track along the Silk Road Economic Belt is perhaps one of the reasons why the development of a common traffic prediction model necessary for optimising the entire network has been elusive. Infrastructure managers currently apply different mathematical models developed according to the characteristics of

the networks they administer. In this context, it is difficult to create a common traffic prediction model on a multilateral basis (Interview, 10 May 2017).

A complicating factor is the varying degrees of densification of terminals for information gathering and exchange along the line. This hampers data control and information exchange between national transport systems and makes the development of a common traffic prediction model difficult. The lack of common measurement standards and practices that make information comparable between different locations further complicates the situation.

Regulatory Frameworks

Differences between national rail networks manifest themselves not only in terms of technical standards but also in regulatory and administrative instruments specific to the railway industry.

Maximum axel load is one perimeter that differentiates rail transport systems along the Silk Road Economic Belt. In Europe an attempt is made to establish a unified permitted load per axle of 22.5t. In Russia this permitted maximum load is 23.5t, while in Kazakhstan and China it is 23t per axle (NEAR², 2013: 52). Different procedures governing the loading of railway cars impact the transportation by rail of heavy cargo across Eurasia.

Maximum train length is defined as "the maximum length of a train composition that is permitted to circulate in a railway corridor" (NEAR², 2013: 20). Russia operates long train compositions of up to 1300m, whereas in Europe the length of trains is limited to 750m, and in China and Kazakhstan that length is 850m (NEAR², 2013: 73). Restrictions on the ability to operate long blocks of trains is an issue in Eurasian rail transport, especially between the EU and Russia/Belarus. Presently, the issue is being addressed by creating stocks of containers at border crossings (Interview, 10 May 2017).

Regulations governing traffic flow in the railway system also diverge across Eurasia. Different countries assign different priority to national and international rail traffic and to passenger and cargo trains. For example, China and countries of the former USSR tend to prioritise passenger transportation, whereas in the EU rail freight tends to have priority. In low capacity networks such as in western

China and Central Asia where there is only one track, trains have to wait for incoming trains to pass which results in delays. The lack of a uniform standard on who has right of way in the railway network precludes the development of international timetables for rail freight across Eurasia. The lack of synchronised timetables for rail freight sometimes leads to problems, especially at border crossings (Interview, 10 May 2017).

Borders create another problem for Eurasian overland rail transport – that of customs clearance. Inconsistent procedures in terms of freight documentation means that customs clearance acts as a bottleneck (Slack, 2000: 6). For example, Russia and the EU use different bills of transportation. This complicates the interaction between shippers and customs officials. Lack of uniformity concerning customs clearance procedures and documentation is often cited as an impediment to the development of rail freight across Eurasia.

The issue of tariffing is another issue that is often raised in the context of Eurasian rail (Slack, 2000: 7; Rodemann and Templar, 2014: 79). The existence of different tariff structures along the Silk Road Economic Belt that diverge not only in terms of rates but also in terms of the mechanism by which these rates are calculated affects the commercial viability of overland transport. For example, in Russia shippers pay per container, while in the EU they pay for access to the infrastructure (Interview, 10 May 2017). The complex situation around tariffs is identified as a major concern for planners and policy makers. The financial incentives provided in China to shippers who use the rail freight services to Europe are an example illustrating the different rate setting mechanisms in operation along the Silk Road Economic Belt (Interview, 17 November 2014).

An overview of the mosaic of standards along the New Silk Road would be incomplete without a mention of some of the different meanings attached to concepts that underpin any logistical operation. Rodemann and Templar give the example of the different understandings of transport reliability held by infrastructure operators along the Silk Road:

"The involvement of several countries and cultures in landbridge transport comes along with different perceptions

concerning reliability. Western cultures perceive transport reliability as the deviation from the estimated time of arrival being as small as possible. In contrast to that, Central Asian states use time windows rather than exact times. While both systems function in themselves, the differences present a challenge for coordination of schedules and cooperation in case of delays" (Rodemann and Templar, 2014: 79).

Industrial Organisation

The rail sector is functionally linked to other sectors, such as energy and the environment. As a networked industry, it is situated at the intersection between systems, markets and industries. Its management impinges on issues, such as competition, deregulation, and ownership, where states rarely see eye to eye.

Broadly speaking, two models of industrial organisation have come to predominate in the countries along the Silk Road Economic Belt. In China, Central Asia, Belarus and Russia the railway industry is dominated by large, state-owned, heavily subsidised, vertically integrated national companies. In addition to providing transport services, their objective is to meet wider social goals, such as employment and inflation, that require interventions in the market involving regulation and public ownership. "State owned railway organisations have a strong focus on local transport needs or national railway development and hence oppose the creation of international railway standards" (Rodemann and Templar, 2014: 79).

In Western Europe, on the other hand, there is a wider acceptance of the liberalised approach to transport policy pioneered by the US and the UK. This approach treats the transport sector as little different to other economic activities. Transport provision and use is expected to be efficient in its own right, and efficiency is best attained by making maximum use of market forces. Transport sector liberalisation in Western Europe has proceeded by means of separating the control of the infrastructure from that of train operation and by decentralising functions such as planning or scheduling.

The existence of different models of transport sector organisation based on the statist and liberal approach does not have a direct

influence on establishing rail links between Europe and China. While industrial organisation may not have an immediate impact on operations, it does however play a role in the development of common standards, which is what this paper will turn to next.

Cooperation around Standards

The existence of an archipelago of techniques and procedures in the railway sector creates an urgent functional need to develop common connection standards on the basis of which to integrate systems of transportation and exchange in the countries along the Silk Road Economic Belt.

Standardisation, or the adoption of common standards, is a process whereby national infrastructures and economies link up and become interoperable. The interlinking of infrastructures and markets is achieved on the basis of shared standards. Standardisation applies not only to industrial and environmental standards, but also to work practices, legal and regulatory frameworks, and models of industrial organisation. It includes metrological standards, i.e. the measurement of traffic flow in transport systems, common traffic prediction models, shared understandings of concepts such as reliability, and protocols for information exchange between national systems. Standardisation represents the continuous patching up of differences between national standards until full interoperability is achieved.

Interoperability and integration of transport systems is achieved through dialogue and cooperation between national and regional railway authorities. It is a process that happens within and is facilitated by industry associations, regional forums and development agencies whose remit includes the promotion of shared ways of doing things. The aim of the cooperation is to align national legislation in the railway sector and, where possible, to enshrine this alignment in international law. The cooperation takes place at multiple venues. It occurs bilaterally through intergovernmental channels between transport ministries. It also takes place in technical standardisation committees operating within the framework of regional forums, such as the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union. There are

also hybrid venues involving states and regional blocs, such as the recently launched EU-China Connectivity Platform.

Much of this cooperation is facilitated by international industry associations, such as the International Rail Transport Committee (CIT), and by and regional agencies of international organisations such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). These international agencies provide technical expertise and political brokerage during the negotiations. Issues are usually thrashed out at the level of technical and expert groups staffed by officials from national transport ministries, while agreements are officially reached at transport ministerial meetings.

The following paragraphs will attempt to outline what is being done to optimise the Eurasian rail network bilaterally, in and between regional forums, and through international organisations.

Bilateral

Bilateral cooperation between the states along the Silk Road Economic Belt is active. However, the existence of many, overlapping regional organisations in Eurasia means that bilateral discussions around infrastructure often take place on the fringes of regional forums and are frequently subsumed in broader regional agreements. An example of that is the joint declaration of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on cooperation between the Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Road Economic Belt. The declaration includes inter alia a commitment to strengthening the interconnection between the two projects in the sphere of logistics, transport infrastructure and intermodal operations (Joint Declaration, 2015).

Interregional

Interregional cooperation around Eurasian transport infrastructure is arguably the most active dimension of cooperation on standards. An example of bi-regional cooperation taking place along the Silk Road Economic Belt is provided by the Eurasian Economic Union and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. The two organisations have been working to establish interconnections between the

physical, legal and regulatory infrastructure of their member states. The secretariats of the two organisations together with their business councils coordinated the interlinking of transport routes and the simplification of border-crossing procedures. This coordination has taken place in the framework of a memorandum of understanding between the Eurasian Economic Commission (the predecessor of the Eurasian Union) and the SCO secretariats that provides for continuous consultations in the areas of trade, investment, energy and transport (EurAsEC, 8 May 2006). Coordination has also happened through the implementation of the interstate programme 'The Development of Transit Potential' that seeks to align national transport strategies with those of regional blocs (SCO, 31 December 2008).

Another example of interregional cooperation around rail infrastructure is provided by the EU-China Connectivity Platform. The Platform was launched in late 2015 as a result of increased Chinese economic activity in and around Europe. It seeks to address issues of governance and industrial overcapacity that the EU sees as a challenge to the commercial interests of its member states and to the coherence of its own transport policy, TEN-T (Interview, 29 November 2016). Presently, the Platform deals mainly with transport, of which rail occupies the lion's share of the agenda. China and the European Commission have agreed to cooperate and exchange information on standards, technical regulations and conformity assessment procedures and provide information on their respective rail-related standards through the web-based China-European Standardisation Platform (European Commission, 2017).

Cooperation between China and Europe also takes place in the 16+1 framework. The framework brings together Beijing and 15 East European capitals to discuss issues of common interest. Transport logistics forms an important part of the discussions. There are transport ministerial meetings in the 16+1 format the first one of which took place in 2016 in Riga. The ministerial issued a declaration in which the development of container train routes between China and Europe received a special mention. Ministers also reached a decision to establish CEEC-China secretariats on logistic cooperation in Latvia and on transport and infrastructure Cooperation in Serbia (Riga Declaration, 2016).

A different form of interregional cooperation on transport and logistics is provided by the Smart and Secure Trade Lanes (SSTL) project between the EU and China. The SSTL project was launched as part of an earlier agreement on cooperation and mutual administrative assistance in customs matters. It aims to strengthen end-to-end supply chain security and standardise customs clearance. While designed for sea lanes, SSTL was successfully applied to landports by the city government of Chongqing in China. In March 2011, before launching its rail service to Duisburg, the Chongqing government organised an international conference attended by customs officials from Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, Poland and Germany. The officials signed an agreement on the use of SSTL or 安智贸 as a result of which physical checks of containers travelling between Chongqing and Duisburg would only be performed at the points of departure and arrival. Border checks along the route would thus only involve checking documentation (Interview, 17 November 2014). Later the cities of Zhengzhou and Chengdu copied the Chongqing model and launched their own uninterrupted rail services to Europe (Interview, 8 July 2014). The involvement of actors at different scales of authority in the standardisation of customs clearance procedures is an example of the complex forms that interregional cooperation can sometimes take.

Multilateral

The United Nations is another participant in the standardisation along the Silk Road Economic Belt. Through its regional agencies, UNECE and UNESCAP, the UN facilitates the setting of standards that promote international development. UNECE was created to facilitate post WWII reconstruction. It has a regional mandate the covers North America, Europe and the former Soviet Union. Headquartered in Geneva, UNECE supports Eurasian rail through dedicated programmes such as Euro-Asia Transport Links. It provides support for the development of common standards in the transport sector.

UNECE supported the International Rail Transport Committee (CIT), a forum where national rail transport officials meet and discuss the legal and procedural aspects of international rail

transport, in developing the common CIM/SMGS consignment note. In Western Europe a uniform law applies to rail transport called CIM, whereas in Eastern Europe, Russia and China another uniform transport law applies called SMGS. UNECE and CIT succeeded in building a bridge between the two legal regimes of CIM SMGS and introduced a common CIM/SMGS consignment note or bill of transportation for rail shipments. When applied uniformly, this consignment note expedites customs clearance and reduces delays at borders. In addition to CIM/SMGS, CIT has drafted General Terms and Conditions of Eurasian Carriage by Rail. The document governs at corporate level contracts between shippers and customers of the Eurasian rail corridors.

The development of common standards advanced through bilateral, interregional and multilateral cooperation has a beneficial effect on economic activity. The benefits of standardisation stem from improved connectivity between transport systems. Connectivity brings about increases in travel speed and throughput capacity, improves lead times, expedites freight, and reduces operation costs. Taking costs out of supply chains results in gains in productivity. Standardisation also leads to the integration of value chains which facilitates economic expansion and culminates in the creation of regional and transregional markets.

The flip side of this process is that the benefits of standardisation are seldom distributed evenly. If the development of common standards opens the possibility of integrating systems of transportation and exchange, it also makes it possible to exclude consumers and producers who do not conform to these standards (Barry 2006: 240). Standardisation, like most transnational processes, produces winners and losers. The winners see their national standards prevail and become universal. This allows them to capture foreign markets and to keep out competitors. The losers, on the other hand, are forced to undertake painful and expensive reforms that can lead to social dislocation and loss of economic activity. Standardisation thus can change the economic geography of whole countries and regions, resulting in economic growth for some and peripherialisation for others. That is why standard setting is a competitive activity that has not received sufficient attention in the literature.

Competition over Standards

In this context, the emergent materialisation of the Silk Road Economic Belt provides a convenient vantage point from which to watch the competition over standards that unfolds on the Eurasian steppes.

The EU-China Connectivity Platform is an important venue where standard setting is discussed. A Commission official described the issue thus:

> "The Connectivity Platform aims at a certain standardisation and interoperability of industrial standards between the EU and China. There is a basic difference between European and Chinese standards. The difference lies in the fact that EU standards are business-driven. This means that they arise from the business community and satisfy business requirements. In China, on the other hand, standards are politically-driven. They are formulated at the level of the Chinese government and are handed down to the business community. In this and other respects, Chinese and EU standards are different. But this is not to say that they are completely incompatible. One example is railway signalling systems where interoperability is possible. We have not yet achieved interoperability with China, but we are hopeful that this interoperability can be achieved through cooperation" (Interview, 29 November 2016).

Asked about how the existence of different railway standards were going to play out locally, a different Commission official from a different Directorate General explained:

> "Different standards – EU, Russian and Chinese ones – will be developed in Central Asia. Central Asia is a transit region for goods and merchandise; why not in terms of standards as well. EU standards have an important advantage over Russian and Chinese standards which is that they are much more in line with international regulations and WTO principles" (Interview, 24 October 2014).

While the Commission contemplates the prospect of the coexistence of EU standards with those of other powers, it nonetheless maintains the superiority of its own standards and hopes that they will ultimately prevail. China, on the other hand, does not seem to attach great importance to the issue of standards. The 2015 Action Plan for Harmonisation of Standards Along the Belt and Road issued by the National Development and Reform Commission speaks as much about learning from other countries' experience as it does about exporting Chinese standards (NDRC, 2015). At the same time, Beijing is concluding interoperability agreements on standards with seemingly irreconcilable antagonists such as the European Commission and the Eurasian Economic Commission. Whether this is motivated by the traditional Chinese approach rooted in Daoist philosophy of taking the path of least resistance and 'flowing around' sticky problems, or by the pragmatic attitude of dealing with issues as they arise, is a moot point. It remains to be seen whether the Chinese approach or the European approach to standardisation will be more productive.

Conclusion

This paper takes examined overland rail transport between China and Europe focusing on the issue of standards. Differences in infrastructure, equipment and management prevent the rail services from operating efficiently. For the moment these differences are patched up by commercial operators acting as intermediaries between national railway authorities. The real work of making Eurasian rail transport begins with standardisation of industry standards and regulatory frameworks. This is done mainly by national authorities in consultation with industry associations in the context of interregional forums and international organisations.

The Silk Road Economic Belt is not being built from scratch. Rather, it is grafted onto an already existing infrastructure that both enables and constrains its operation. The Economic Belt will accrete. As an accretion it will form slowly over time. Its formation will be incremental, continuous, and dyssynchronous.

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Геополитиката на Китай

Нако Стефанов

Abstract

China's strengthening positions in key areas of economic, scientific and technological development as well as in key regions of the world demonstrate the increasingly important role played by the People's Republic of China in today's global dynamics. All this determines the interest in the geopolitics of the PRC. The latter is a concentrated expression of the system of actions and interactions in the sphere of international relations of a specific state-political entity, determined by the synthesis of nature and society.

The main objective of the work is to make a brief, but sufficiently comprehensive review of China's geopolitics, especially in its contemporary reading. By this review, it is possible to understand the logic of the interactions of the "Celestial" with the rest of the world, logic based on the synthesis between nature and society,

Keywords: Geopolitics of China, Basic geopolitical aspects of China, Contemporary reading of the geopolitics of the PRC

Въведение

Усилващите се позиции на Китай в ключови области на стопанско, научно-техническо и прочее развитие, както и в основни региони на света демонстрират все по-важното място и роля, която играе Китайската народна република в съвременната глобална динамика. Всичко това засилва интереса към геополитиката на КНР. Последната следва да се разглежда като концентриран израз на системата от действия и взаимодействия в сферата на международните отношения на конкретно държавно-политическо образувание, обусловена от синтеза на природа и общество[1].

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[1] Така например съвременният руски геополитически теоретик Александър Дугин определя геополитиката като „система от науки", основана на тезата за пространството и „географския релеф като съдба" (вж. Дугин, 3).

Основната цел на дадената работа е да се направи един, макар и кратък, но достатъчно съдържателен преглед на геополитиката на Китай, особено в нейния съвременен прочит. На базата на този преглед се предлага разбиране на произтичащата от синтеза между природа и общество логика на взаимоотношенията на „Поднебесната"[2] с останалия свят. Тази цел са постига чрез следните задачи, структурирани в основните раздели на разработката:

1. Ключови характеристики на синтеза „природа – общество" на Поднебесната;

2. Основни геополитически императиви, фактори на геополитическа устойчивост и геополитически феномени на Китай през призмата на историята;

3. Съвременният прочит на геополитиката на КНР.

Ключовите методологични подходи използвани в дадената работа са:

- Системният подход, съгласно който изследваният обект се разглежда като система, съставена от взаимосвързани компоненти, действащи като едно цяло;

- Исторически подход, изхождащ от презумпцията, че обектът не може да бъде разбран, ако не го анализираме в исторически план, т.е. как се е развивал във времето и пространството;

- Логически подход – на основата на същия се разкриват ключови закономерности, определящи начините на функциониране на разглеждания феномен;

- Геополитически и геоикономически платформи – последните разглеждат политическите и икономическите отношения през призмата на конкретната специфика на

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[2] Понятието „Поднебесна" (кит. език – „тянся" / 天下/) или „Поднебесната империя" е китайски термин, използван за означаване на целия свят, а по-късно за назоваване на територията, върху която се разпространява властта на китайския император. Днес се използва за обозначаване на Китай. В английски език се използва термина "Celestial Empire", което приблизително може да бъде преведено като „Поднебесна империя" като име за Китай. В руски език също се използва термина „Поднебесная" или „Поднебесная империя".

формираната географско-природна среда, създаваща уникални формати на взаимодействия.

1. Ключови характеристики на синтеза „природа – общество“ на „Поднебесната“

Географското положение на Китай, потенциалът на неговото пространство, динамиката на развитието и предизвикателствата, с които се среща, са ключовите фактори, формиращи геополитиката на тази държава. Китай не просто е една от най-древните цивилизационни огнища на човечеството. „Поднебесната“ е тази от древните цивилизации, която е с най-продължителна в историята непрекъсната държавно-политическа традиция.

Формирането на китайската цивилизация започва в поречието на реките Хуанхъ и Яндзъ. Днешната провинция Хънан се смята за родно място на първите протодържавни образувания – културите Ърлитоу (二里頭文化 – 1900–1500 г. пр.н.е.) и Ърлиган (二里岗文化 – 1500-1300 г. пр.н.е.). Тази провинция заедно със съседните провинции Шанси, Шънси, Хъбей, Анхуей и Хъбей покриват по-голяма част от плодородната Севернокитайска низина, където съществуват изключително благоприятни условия за земеделие, а оттук и възможности за ускорено демографско развитие.

Ако погледнем природно-географската карта на Китай ще забележим, че пространството, където се раждат и развиват първите китайски държави представлява своеобразен „сухоземен остров“. Това, че именно „сухоземен остров“ е ядрото на Китайската цивилизация определя и нейния телурократичен характер[3]. Този „сухоземен остров“ се характеризира с благоприятен климат, наличие на плодородна земя и достатъчно вода, носена от Жълтата река (Хуанхъ – 黄河). Тази река може да се нарече с пълно право „майка на китайския народ“. Река Хуанхъ заема първо място сред великите реки, носещи земна пръст. Ежегодно

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[3] Телурокра́тия (лат. ез. tellūris, от tellūs «суша, земя, страна» + старогръцки ез. – кра́тος «власт»; «сухопътно могъщество») представлява тип цивилизации или държавно устройства, което е свързано с усвояване на материкови пространства и стремеж към сухопътни региони.

Жълтата река изнася в Жълто море около 1.3 милиарда тона пясък, пръст и тиня.

Река Хуанхъ – Жълтата река – „майката" на китайския народ

На Изток този „сухоземен остров" се опира в Жълто море и Източнокитайско море. На запад границата на „острова" е високопланинското Тибетско плато. На север има степни зони, които особено в зимния сезон, се характеризират с доста суров климат. Значително по-благоприятни са пространствата на юг – към поречието на Яндзъ и още „по-надолу" в южна посока. Високата демографска динамика, създадена от благоприятните условия в Севернокитайската низина тласка разселването на юг.
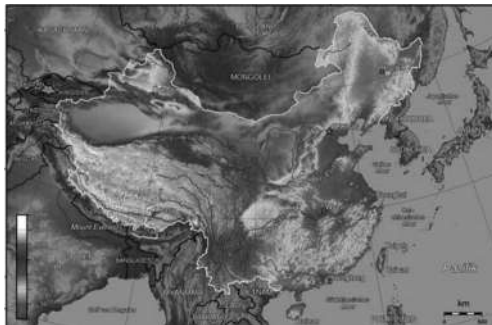
„Сухоземният остров" – Севернокитайската низина, където се ражда и откъдето тръгва на юг развитието на Китайската цивилизация

Протодържава Шан-Ин, чиято история води началото си още от 1776 г. пр.н.е. Шан е смятана за първото доказано цивилизационно огнище в зоната на Източна Азия

Значително по-късно след периода на т.нар. „Воюващи царства" възниква начело с Цин Шъхуанди империята Цин (秦朝) - 221-206 г. пр.н.е.. Тя се простира значително повече в южна посока

2. Основни геополитически императиви, фактори на геополитическа устойчивост и геополитически феномени на Китай през призмата на историята

Още в най-древни времена възникват геополитическите императиви на Китайската цивилизация[4]. Като първи такъв императив ще посочим „Поддържането на единство на вътрешните пространства на Китайската цивилизация". Хилядолетната история на Китай учи, че когато липсва такова вътрешно единство може да се загуби напълно или частично държавно-политическата независимост. Подобен императив доказва своето действие в случая с политическата слабост на империя Сун. В резултат на тази слабост „Поднебесната" не успява да спре нашествието на монголските феодали в Китай, което започва още в началото на XIII в. и завършва със завоюването на цялата страна през 1279 г. и пълното унищожение на империя Сун.

Още веднъж този императив се проявява в края на управлението на династията Мин. През 20–30-те години на XVII в. започва серия от селски въстания, които прерастват в Селска вой-

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4   Във връзка с геополитическите императиви на Китай вж. Baker Rodger. Revisiting the Geopolitics of China, Geopolitical Weekly, 15.03.2016.

на, ръководена от Ли Дзъчън, Джан Сиенджун и други. Империята Мин е унищожена през април 1644 година, когато бунтовническият водач Ли Дзъчън завзема столицата Пекин и установява собствена и продължила недълго своето съществуване династия Шун. В хода на бунтовете част от китайските феодали сключват споразумение с манджурските феодали и отварят границите за техните войски с цел да получат тяхната подкрепа за потушаването на бунтовете. Но това улеснява завоюването на Китай от манджурите и идването на власт на манджурската династия Цин-清朝 (1644–1911 г.).

Третият път императивът демонстрира своето действие, когато Цински Китай изпада в криза, изразяваща се в рязък подем на анти-манджурските въстания и бунтове. Военната и икономическа изостаналост на Цинската империя води до поражение на страната в т.нар. Опиумни войни[5] и изпадането ѝ в полуколониална зависимост от Запада.

Вторият императив на геополитиката на Китай може да бъде формулиран като „Контрол върху буферните региони, включително морското крайбрежие“. Може да се каже, че разбирането на този императив води до изграждането на „Великата Китайска стена“ като опит именно за такъв контрол и защита на „Ядреното пространство“ на Китайската цивилизация.

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[5] Първа (1840–1842 г.) и Втора (1850– 856 г.) Опиумни войни.

„Великата Китайска стена" като средство за контрол на буферния регион от север и недопускане нашествието на чергарски племена

Нарушаването на този императив във времето на Цинската династия води до редица поражения за Китай – Първата и Втората опиумни войни. Нещата се повтарят и във връзка с Първата и Втората японо-китайски войни. Загубата на контрол върху крайбрежните райони, позволява на силите на Морето – таласокрацията да атакува и да установи своята доминация върху Китай.

От друга страна, когато говорим за факторите на силата на Китайската цивилизация трябва да кажем, че въпреки т.нар. „проклятие на цикличността"[6] в продължение на хилядолетия

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6 В историята на хилядолетната Китайска цивилизация съществува определена цикличност. Тя се изразява в това, че когато дадена държавно-политическа сила дойде на власт първоначално за определен период тя „тласка" развитието на страната. Но след време „обраства" с корупция, възникват множество проблемни зони. Властта предизвиква недоволство, бунтове и се стига до нейната смяна. Сменилите я първоначално също

„Поднебесната“ въпреки чуждите нашествия и господства де-
монстрира своята изключителна цивилизационна устойчивост.
Като ключови взаимно въздействащи си фактори на същата
следва да се посочат:

- Традиционната ценностна и идейно-духовна система, съз-
  даваща високо равнище на цивилизационно сцепление;
- Значителна демографска виталност;
- Специфичен държавно-бюрократически комплекс.

В исторически план трябва да кажем, че Китай демонстрира
два диаметрално противоположни геополитически феномена.
Първият от тях е феномена на „Великата Китайска стена“. Тя е
символ на стремежа да се запазят границите на държавата и ци-
вилизацията, да се защитят китайските традиции и манталитет
от външни влияния и въздействия.
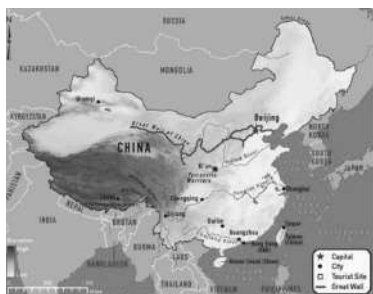
„Великата Китайска стена“ като най-значим световен феномен
на защитната затвореност и цивилизационна охрана

Вторият феномен е този на „Великия път на коприната“ като
най-мащабен пример на световна комуникация в Древността и
Средновековието от една страна, и като демонстрация на селек-
тивна отвореност на Китайската цивилизация, от друга.

действат в позитивна посока, докато се повтори предходната ситуация. И
така цикъл след цикъл.
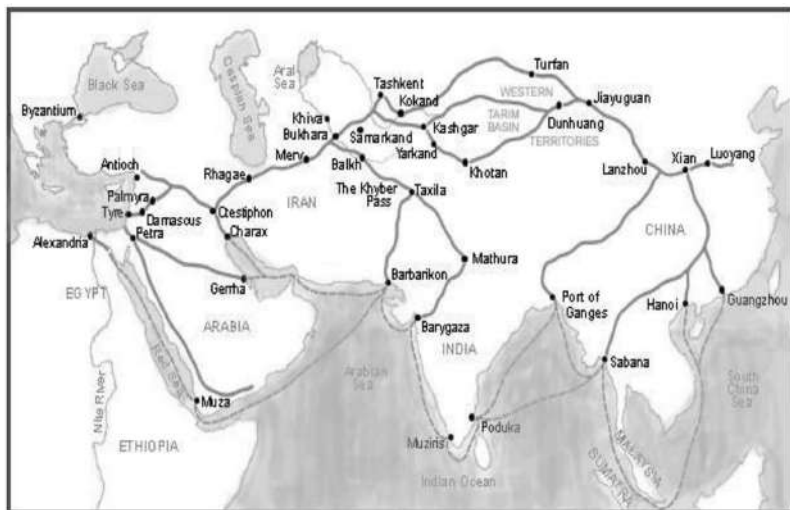
„Великият път на коприната" по време на династия Тан – 唐朝 (618–907 г.)

3. Съвременият прочит на геополитиката на КНР

След като в началото на 90-те години след разпада на СССР бе сложен край на двуполюсната геополитическа система „победителят в „Студената война", както обявиха себе си САЩ, заяви чрез Френсис Фукуяма за „края на историята", т.е. за американската глобална доминация в обозримото бъдеще. Това обозримо бъдеще бе определено като „XXI век – векът на САЩ".

Казано с други думи стартира създаването на еднополярен свят ръководен от единствената останала свръхдържава – САЩ, при което само последната има правото и „задължението" на използване на военна сила, както и други форми на натиск и намеса – дипломатически, информационни и т.н. Безспорно САЩ се опираха и опират и на определени многонационални механизми като блока НАТО в зоната на Атлантическия океан или Договорът за сигурност с Япония в зоната на Тихия океан, чрез които да диверсифицират тежестта на носените финансови, човешки и прочее разходи за поддръжката на еднополярния свят.

Трябва да кажем, че в Китай подобно на СССР и социалистическите страни от Източна Европа от средата на 70-те години на

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ХХ век започнаха да се проявяват признаците на структурна криза. Но Китайската комунистическа партия, за разлика от КПСС, възглавена от Горбачов, вместо „смяна на системата" избра друг път. Тръгва се по пътя на реформи, при които се „глътва капитализъм", но се запазва икономическото и политическото ядро на социалистическото развитие. Създава се своеобразен синтез на държавно регулиране и стимулиране от една страна, и пазарни взаимодействия от друга. За текущия момент този синтез в конкретната му китайска форма и при дадените международни условия се оказа мощен механизъм за техно-икономическа динамика.

Междувременно създаденият на Запад нов модел на капиталистическо функциониране, т.нар. „неолиберален капитализъм", водейки се от доведения от този модел до екстремни равнища капиталистически стремеж за максимизация на печалбата, съдейства за трансфера на производството на редица стоки от Щатите в страните от Югоизточна и Източна Азия, а най-вече в Китай. Това прехвърляне на производство зад океана създаде ситуацията, когато Щатите се деиндустриализираха, а КНР се превърна в световна работилница.

„Глобалната криза" от 2008 година като израз на системно-структурна криза на неолиберализма, представян най-вече от САЩ, стана пусков механизъм за две явления:
- Превръщането на КНР от есента на 2014 година в най-значимата геоикономическа сила;
- Възвръщането на геополитическата субектност на Русия, която също започна от 2014 година;

Всичко това стартира процес на начеващи дълбоки геополитически промени. Измеренията на тези геополитически промени и предизвикателства следва да се разгледат през призмата на три ключови геополитически «контура», а именно:
(1) Глобалното противостоене «Запад – Изток»;
(2) Взаимоотношенията «Север-Юг»;
(3) Сформиралият се от началото на второто десетилетие на XXI век световен геополитически триъгълник САЩ – Китай – Русия.

В рамките на тези три контура основните геостратегически цели на Китай могат да бъдат определени като

1. Формирането на многополюсен свят;

2. Укрепването на вътрешното единство на Китай, включително обединение с Тайван;

3. Контрол върху буферните региони;

4. Осигуряване на основни източници и пътища на ресурсни и стокови потоци.
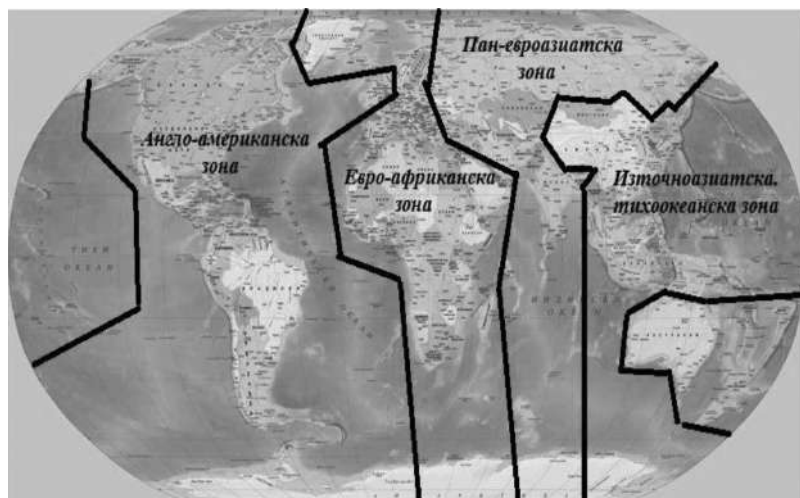
Някои геополитически виждания относно разделението
и противостоенето в света

По отношение на първата от геостратегическите цели на КНР съществува определено съвпадение с целта на друга страна на геополитическия триъгълник – Руската федерация. КНР и РФ в своите взаимодействия се движат от стратегически диалог към стратегическо сътрудничество.

Днес в условията на натиск на Запада – САЩ и ЕС по отношение най-вече на РФ, но също и на КНР, стратегическото сътрудничество прераства в стратегическо партньорство. Но тази динамика е на фона на това, че всяка една от горните две страни се плъзга във взаимоотношенията си със САЩ от стратегически диалог към стратегическо противостоене. Последното е близко до това да се превърне в стратегическо противопоставяне и „Не дай Боже!" в стратегически конфликт.

В дадения момент се е формирала, казано с езика на шахмата, „патова ситуация" – т.е. нито САЩ са способни да възвърнат отново еднополярния свят, но засега и РФ, и КНР все още не са създали достатъчно потенциал за да наложат многополярността в глобален план. В известен смисъл времето работи в полза на многополярността, но в сферата на геополитиката няма необратими, окончателни процеси.

Вместо заключение

Вместо заключение ще добавим следното. Когато говорим за геополитиката на КНР не може да не споменем, че в днешните условия на задълбочаваща се турбулентност и хаос в глобален план въпросът за създаване на опорни точки за устойчиво развитие става ключов въпрос за цялото човечество. И тук китайският геополитически и геоикономически проект „Един пояс – един път" придобива характера на геостратегическа революция в различни измерения.

От една страна проектът „Един пояс на един път" обещава да създаде система от взаимноизгодни отношения, активен социално-икономически, технически и културен живот. Казано с други думи това е геостратегия на устойчивото, взаимноизгодно развитие. Тя определено е в противотежест на поддържаната от силите на таласокрацията „геостратегия на хаоса".

От друга страна проектът, при който доминиращите сили стават тези на телурокрацията – Китай, Русия, Иран променя геополитическото и геоикономическото равновесие в света. Именно затова може да се твърди, че реализирането на този проект означава геостратегическа революция.

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История и археология

History and Archaeology

「天位乎上，雲物從之」 － 中國皇帝的「天命觀」

吳美鳳

Abstract

　　On April 13ᵗʰ 1618, Nurhaci (努爾哈齊), the founder of Qing dynasty, worshiped Heaven 天 listing 'the Seven Grievances' 七大恨 against the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), telling Heaven that he had decided to fight back. His reign title was 天命 (Tianmin) – "Fate/Mandate of Heaven". He claimed that all the attacks or wars initiated by him, were mandate of Heaven. "Telling Heaven" 告天 and "hint through dream" appears very often throughout Chinese history in respect to Chinese emperors or founders of dynasties, not only in the case of Nurhaci. The emperor was called 'the Son of Heaven 天子，which implied that He is not an ordinary human being, but is of supernatural birth. This paper aims to explore the Fate view of the Chinese emperor, the accompanying dreams, fantasies and myths, the social and cultural significance of this phenomenon as well as its influence on Chinese ritual and politics.

　　Keywords*: Qing dynasty history, Nurhaci, Chinese emperor, Mandate of Heaven (tianmin).*

前言

　　明萬曆二十一年(1593)，以海西女真葉赫為首的九部聯軍三萬來攻努爾哈齊(Nurhaci)的建州女真一萬餘。開戰當天一早，努爾哈齊率眾人謁廟拜天，說道：「我…與葉赫本無事故，今彼引兵攻我，惟天鑒察。…願天令敵垂首，祐我奮揚，兵不遺鞭，馬無顛躓…」，交戰不久，葉赫頭人布齋很快就被斬首，不久聯軍四散潰逃。[1]　萬曆四十四年(1616)，努爾哈齊建立金國(Aisin　Gurun)，建元天命。天命三年四月十三日，努爾哈齊於其都城赫圖阿拉(Hetu　Ala)誓師，以對明朝長久以來的「七大恨」(小忿難枚舉)告天反明，誓師當天立刻出兵，一舉攻下明朝的撫順城。「天命」是努爾哈齊立國的年號，滿語拼音

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[1]　《大清滿州實錄》，台北，台灣華聯出版社，1964，頁90–91。

為 Abkai fullingga，意為「天生福人」。終努爾哈齊一生，時常以「天」為念，出兵前一定「惟天鑒察」，意思是師出有名。其所向披靡，是因「上天罪彼，故令我勝…」[2] — 因上天認為對方有罪，所以讓我獲勝…。努爾哈齊就這樣東征西討的戰無不克，一直到天啟六年 (1626)一月與明朝袁崇煥的「寧遠之戰」慘敗為止。

「天命」，略如「上天的意旨」(God's will)、「命中注定」(destiny)，或「命運」(fate)等。中國傳統社會以「天下」指國家，上天之子的「天子」擁有國家最高權力，以「天命」為依歸所形成的思想、意識形態，所衍生的組織架構、典章制度等，或皆可視作「天命觀」。清太祖努爾哈齊的思想、行動之準則莫不以「天」為是，其繼位的清太宗皇太極亦大致若此。事實上，中國歷史上據有中土的各姓王朝也無不如此。本文嘗試以努爾哈齊等明清帝王為主，探討中國皇帝「天命觀」的由來、誰才是受命的「天子」、「天意」如何下達、皇帝如何回應「天意」以及臣民如何順從「天意」等，以期對傳統帝制的傳承與思維脈絡有更深入的瞭解。

一、中國皇帝「天命觀」的由來
從「商人好鬼神」到商周之際的變化

上古夏商周三代的初民社會至少包含對大自然的崇拜、對祖先(祖靈)的崇拜以及對天地的崇拜等，爾後衍生對上帝的信仰、對祖先的信仰、對天地的信仰等，此皆為上古政治意識醞釀和形成的時期。有學者觀察殷商時期關於祖先的卜辭有一萬五千多則，相較於有關「上帝」的卜辭僅六百多則來看，認為殷商時期的祖先崇拜遠甚於對上帝的信仰[3]，此數字或可印證「商人好鬼神」之說。[4]

氏族社會的商人以祖靈及其一脈的血緣傳承制度(姓氏)作為統治的基礎，但此現象到了周代產生變化。「只有當血緣制度擺脫商代的族裔模式，以'姓氏'為標準時，正統觀念才有可能從'祖靈'走出來，與'天命'掛勾，從而平息不同'姓

[2] 《大清滿州實錄》，台北，台灣華聯出版社，1964，頁165。
[3] 楊小彥撰，〈血緣制度和天命觀的二元性 — 論中國遠古國家意識形態形成中的內部張力〉，《思想戰線》，2007年第5期，頁40-54。
[4] 楊小彥撰，〈血緣制度和天命觀的二元性 — 論中國遠古國家意識形態形成中的內部張力〉，《思想戰線》，2007年第5期，頁40-54。

氏’間爭奪統治地位的紛爭。[5] 　《詩經》所記內容最早是西周初期，最晚到春秋中業，時間跨越大約六百年，反映周代政治、社會，經濟、文化等諸多樣貌。統計其內容，作天神解釋的「天」出現了104次，「帝」或「上帝」僅出現43次。另外，《尚書》內含上古、夏商周三代等君臣講話紀錄，有學者統計《尚書》〈周誥〉十二篇中，「天」作為神祇出現了116次，「帝」或「上帝」只有4次。若合計《詩經》和《尚書》兩書，「天」出現336次，「帝」只有85次。由此可見，周王朝時期，‘姓氏’的血緣傳承似已隱去，「天」又比「帝」重要得多。[6]

「天命靡常，惟德是依」 － 周人的天命觀

　　《詩經•魯頌》記載周人滅商的大業：「后稷之孫，實維大王，居岐之陽，實始翦商」，意即住在渭水下游的周人，到了大王(古公亶父)時，開始準備滅商。周武王伐紂的牧野之戰，歷史學者研究，雙方的武器裝備、列陣方式基本上旗鼓相當，但「周人以蕞爾小國而能克商」，應該是戰略上的運用得當。無論如何，周人滅商，是以小博大，可能周人自己也覺得不可思議，所以《詩經》繼續寫道：「致天之屆，於牧之也」，就是說，是天意使弱小之邦的周人在牧野戰場滅了商。[7] 　說明周人取代大商是膺受天命，繼承大統有其正當性。但是為何大商該滅？

　　權力的渴望或需要，源自定居文明對社會長期穩定的追求，欲求社會穩定，必須有尊卑有別，上下有序的等級制度，以及執行制度者權力來源的合理性、合法性與正當性，或者稱之為權力的正統性。在權力更替、血緣制度不足以為新興權力的合法性或正統性提供有效辯解時，會產生新的資源或依據來補充隱藏期間的權力欲望與需求，也就是新興政治勢力欲求君臨「天下」，必須尋得其權力來源的正統性。周人為了解釋「天命」為何棄商人而去，遂演繹出新的政治論述「天命靡常，

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[5] 楊小彥撰，〈血緣制度和天命觀的二元性 － 論中國遠古國家意識形態形成中的內部張力〉，《思想戰線》，2007年第5期，頁40-54。

[6] 楊小彥撰，〈血緣制度和天命觀的二元性 － 論中國遠古國家意識形態形成中的內部張力〉，《思想戰線》，2007年第5期，頁40-54。

[7] 楊小彥撰，〈血緣制度和天命觀的二元性 － 論中國遠古國家意識形態形成中的內部張力〉，《思想戰線》，2007年第5期。

惟德是依」、「皇天無親，惟德是輔」[8] ─ 上天非一成不變的一直支持某個統治者，如果為政失德，「天命」就會轉移。商之「失德」，就是後世史書上所記的「紂王無道」。周人以此昭告天下其代商而有天下的正統性，並告誡後代子孫，此亦成就了周人的天命觀。

七、八百年後的漢代，大儒董仲舒(公元前179年-前104年)說：「天者，百神之大君」、「天為萬物之主」，天的地位超越眾神，主宰人間禍福。並說：「王者上謹於承天意，以順命也。」[9] 亦即漢代人已認知帝王是受命於天統治人間，是天在地上的代理人。此後的中國傳統社會即以「國家」為「天下」，「有天下者」掌控國家最高的權力，也就是君臨「天下」的皇帝。雖然放眼中國歷代王朝的更迭多為「成王敗寇」，「天下」大多數都是「打」出來的，但取得天下的前後，君臨天下的正統性，也就是周人的「天命觀」就會適時出現。

二、誰才是受命的「天子」

欲求君臨「天下」，也就是受命的「天子」，必然異於凡人，故得天下者必有異於常人的出身，或少其始祖的出身異於世俗。清代滿州的開國始祖，源自三仙女的故事 ─ 長白山上有個「布勒瑚里」池，有一天，天降三仙女恩古倫、正古倫與佛庫倫，浴於池：「有神鵲銜一朱果置佛庫倫衣上，色甚鮮妍，佛庫倫愛之，不忍釋手，遂銜口中，甫著衣，其果入腹中，即感而成孕」佛庫倫後遂留在人間，「生一男，生而能言，倏爾長成…」，生下來就會說話，長得很快，並且「舉止奇異，相貌非常」。[10] 此人名叫「布庫里雍順」，就是後來滿州人的始祖。

司馬遷《史記》中的〈殷本紀〉說殷人的祖先契：「殷契母曰簡狄氏，…為帝嚳次妃，見玄鳥墜其卵，簡狄取吞之，因孕生契。」 ─ 也就是《詩經》〈玄鳥〉所記的「天命玄鳥，降而生商」 ─ 殷人的始祖是上天命令黑色的鳥降下人間所出。與滿人始祖的故事相近。《史記》〈秦本紀〉記秦人的先

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8 「天命靡常」語出《尚書‧多士》；「皇天無親，惟德是輔」語出《尚書‧蔡仲之命》。

9 張錦智撰，〈試析中國古代的天命觀〉，《傳承》，2014年11期，頁138-139。

10 《大清滿州實錄》，台北，台灣華聯出版社，1964，頁2-7。

世：「秦之先，帝顓頊之苗裔孫曰女脩。女脩織，玄鳥隕卵，女脩吞之，生子大業。」秦人的祖先名叫大業，因其母吞了玄鳥的蛋而來。這位母親大有來頭，是上古「三皇五帝」中，五帝之一顓頊的後裔。類似的開國始祖故事還有遼太祖耶律阿保機的出生：「母夢日墜懷中，有娠，及生，室有神光異香，體如三歲兒，即能匍匐。」[11] 就是太陽墜入其母懷中使其受孕，出生時體型如三歲大，還能爬行。有學者研究，上述相近的開國始祖故事屬於上古先民無父時代的「感日神話」、「卵生神話」或「鳥生神話」。[12]

歷代開國始祖的「神話」當然不只「感日」、「卵生」或「鳥生」。《史記》〈殷本紀〉記周人的始祖后稷，是由帝嚳元妃所生，元妃叫姜原：「姜原出野，見巨人跡…踐之而身動如孕者」后稷是其母姜原到郊外去，踩了巨人腳印後受孕而來。大漢帝國開基立業的漢高祖劉邦雖然父母俱全，但其出生也相當不凡，司馬遷《史記》〈高祖本紀〉是這樣寫的：「劉媼嘗息大澤之陂，夢與神遇。是時雷電晦冥，太公往視，則見蛟龍於其上。已而有身，遂產高祖。」就是劉邦的母親在水邊休息時，夢見一神，當時雷電交加，天地昏暗，劉邦的父親前往探視，看到劉母身上一尾蛟龍，劉母因而受孕，生了高祖劉邦。

即使沒有不同凡響的出生，也必定具備異於凡人之處，清太祖努爾哈齊是其母喜塔喇氏「孕十三月而生」[13]，並非常人的懷胎十二個月。清代第一個入主中原的順治皇帝，其母孝莊太后懷他時：「紅光繞身，盤旋如龍形」，誕生前夕，孝莊「夢神人抱子納后懷曰：此統一天下之主也。」[14] 清代之前的明代，史書明確的記載，天下是朱元璋打出來的，但既為開國始祖(1368-1398在位)，自然也有一番故事 — 其母陳氏「方娠，夢神授藥一丸，置掌中有光，吞之寤，口餘香氣。及產，紅光滿室。自是，夜數有光起，鄰里望見，驚以 為火，輒奔救，至則無有。比長，姿貌雄偉，奇骨灌頂…」[15] 即朱元璋的母親陳氏有孕時，夢見一神給她一顆會發光的藥丸，吞下去還有香氣。元璋生出後滿室紅光，夜晚還

[11] 《遼史》〈太祖本紀〉。
[12] 文崇一撰，〈亞洲東北與北美及太平洋的鳥生傳說〉，台北，《中央研究院民族學研究所集刊》第12期，1961，頁75-106。
[13] 趙爾巽等撰，《清史稿》，太祖本紀，北京，中華書局，1998，頁58。
[14] 趙爾巽等撰，《清史稿》，世祖本紀，北京，中華書局，1998，頁78。
[15] 清 張廷玉等撰，《明史》，太祖本紀，北京，中華書局，1995，頁1。

見到幾次紅光，讓鄰居都以為失火了，長大後姿貌奇特。因「靖難之變」得位的明成祖(1403-1424)在位)朱棣長得「貌奇偉美髭鬚」[16]，並且「初后生成祖，有龍見於寢」[17]，成祖的愛孫明宣宗(1426-1435在位)則「生之前夕，夢太祖授以大圭，曰：傳之子孫，永世其昌。既彌月，成祖見之，曰：兒英氣溢面，符吾夢矣。」[18]

　　凡此歷代皇帝或其開國始祖的故事多不勝舉，旨在彰顯其「受命於天」的「天命」，中國歷史上據有中土的各姓王朝也莫不以「天命觀」來讓世人接受其取得政權的正統性，是真正的「受命天子」。

三、「天意」如何下達

　　那麼「天意」如何下達？根據史料，首先大致透過祭祀，讓統攝人間的「天子」去奉承「天意」。《史記》〈封禪書〉說：「自古受命帝王，曷嘗不封禪」。「封」是在泰山上封土為壇以祭天；「禪」是將泰山下一處小山整理一塊地面以祭地，合稱「封禪」，相當於後世祭天的天壇、祭地的地壇，是帝王為祭拜天地而舉行的活動，通過祭祀活動所供奉的祭品與祭祀的儀式來與「天」溝通，表達對「天」的敬仰，取得上天的再「確認」其作為天子的正統性。
　　其次是卜筮。《史記》中的〈龜策列傳〉或〈日者列傳〉說的很清楚：「自古受命而王，王者之興何嘗不以卜筮決於天命哉。」以商代第二十二位國王武丁為例，武丁經常問卜於貞人(巫師)以得「天意」。如一塊牛胛骨正反面，正面其中的一段卜辭是：「癸丑卜，㲉，貞五百僕用。旬壬戌业用僕百。三月。」，反面有「王占曰，其用。」「㲉」為貞人名字，「僕」在卜辭中解為奴隸，「业」為祭名，「用」即殺牲(占)即占，正面卜辭大意為，三月癸丑占卜，貞人㲉問卦，問能用五百個奴隸祭祀嗎？反面的卜辭中，「王」即武丁，大意是：「王觀察了卜兆，說，能，用吧。」同一塊牛胛骨其他卜辭也有大意為「癸丑後十天壬戌日舉行业祭，結果用了一百

[16] 清 張廷玉等撰，《明史》，成祖本紀，北京，中華書局，1995，頁69。
[17] 清 毛奇齡著，《勝朝彤史拾遺記》，收入《筆記小說大觀》，五編，第六輯，臺北，新興書局，1974，頁3498。
[18] 清 張廷玉等撰，《明史》，宣宗本紀，北京，中華書局，1995，頁115。

個奴隸。」的記載。[19]   武丁的人祭要殺殉多少都得先行占卜以符天意。

再者為天象。《史記》〈天官書〉對星象變化和人事地變換都有具體的對應。如〈秦始皇本紀〉記:「七年,彗星先出東方,見北方,五月見西方,將軍驁死。…彗星復見西方十六日,夏太后死」;對呂太后(呂雉)的記載是「丑,日食,畫晦,太后惡之,心不樂,乃謂左右曰:此為我也」。   清太祖努爾哈齊於統一女真諸部的過程中也常見天象示意。萬曆三十五年(1607)九月六日,「夜有氣從星出,向東直冲輝發國,七八夜方沒。又有氣自西方從星出,月餘方沒」,輝發國是明代東北海西四部之一,與努爾哈齊同屬女真族,但多次為了四部之首的葉赫國而與努爾哈齊背盟違誓、反覆毀婚,天象後三天,努爾哈齊發兵往伐其國,十四日兵到一舉滅其國。[20]   努爾哈齊滅烏拉國也是一樣,烏拉國亦屬海西四部,也與葉赫交好,一再對努爾哈齊背盟毀誓,努爾哈齊遂於萬曆四十年(1612)九月二十二日出兵往征,十月一日努爾哈齊「以太牢告天祭旗,忽見東南有氣青白二色直冲烏拉城北,…」,交戰後烏拉國將敗時求饒,努爾哈齊暫時回兵。到十二月,又見「白氣起自烏拉國,越太祖(按:努爾哈齊)宮樓南,直至呼蘭山」,努爾哈齊於是在次年正月再度往征,兩軍交戰激烈,雙方的箭矢「如風發雪落,聲如群蜂」,最後烏拉國被滅,其頭人布占泰僅以身免,逃亡葉赫。[21]

此外,天意也會透過「夢」來下達,近代史上最會做夢的皇帝應該是清太宗皇太極了。皇太極與其父清太祖努爾哈齊一樣,對「天」十分崇敬。言談之間經常把一切成就歸功於「天」,如「承天眷佑」、「仰賴天佑」,稱來歸的明朝將領為「天佑兵」或「天助兵」,將新都瀋陽改名「天眷盛京」,老都城赫圖阿拉為「天眷興京」。崇德元年改國號為「大清」(Dai Cing),與南方的明朝隱然對峙,此時國內諸王貝勒的歸心誠服、一致擁戴非常重要,崇德二年(1637)七月初九日,他做了一個夢:

[19] 胡厚宣撰,〈中國奴隸社會的人殉和人祭〉(下篇),《文物》,197,第8期,頁60-61。
[20] 《大清滿州實錄》,台北,台灣華聯出版社,1964,頁131-135。
[21] 《大清滿州實錄》,台北,台灣華聯出版社,1964,頁145-160。

丑刻，漏下四鼓，上(指皇太極)夢在太祖前，與和碩禮親王代善，同處一室，向北坐，仰觀見天，諦視之，祥雲絢爛，稠疊三層，雲之上復見青天。上思天甚高遠，何以見之如此分明？代善奏曰：奇哉，…翼旦，詔文臣至，以夢告之，對曰：天位乎上，雲物從之，此非常之貴徵也。[22]

「天位乎上，雲物從之」暗示上天都認可皇太極的天子地位，加上其父努爾哈齊、其兄禮親王代善都在場見證，誰還敢違抗，不全心擁戴他這個天子呢？事實上，在此夢前的六月十七日，皇太極就做了一個夢，夢見自己回到老城興京謁見太祖，突然間又到了明國宮內，看到萬曆皇帝端坐其上，似欲取出一條珊瑚縧穗相授，皇太極正猶豫間，座上者忽變成金代皇帝，並授書一冊等。隔日皇太極將夢境告知多位親王、貝勒、議政大臣等，諸王等對曰：「夢見太祖，是天申命於皇上，…入明宮，見明皇帝，及金人授以前代史書，蓋將代明興起…」[23] 雖然皇太極於崇德九年(1644)駕崩，自己無法代明，但同一年在其弟多爾袞等輔佐下，其子福臨進入北京城，成為天下之主，即入關後的第一位皇帝，確是不折不扣的「代明興起」了。

四、皇帝如何回應「天意」

董仲舒的《春秋繁露》說：「災者，天之譴也，異者，天之威也，…凡災異之本，盡生於國家之失，…而天出災害以譴告之。譴告之而不知變，乃見怪異以驚駭之。驚駭之尚不知畏恐，其殃咎乃至。」[24] 意即皇帝若為政有失，上天會經由天災譴責，天有異象即天威呈現，若天降災害譴責還不知變通，就用異象來讓皇帝驚慌害怕，若還不知惶恐畏懼，那禍害就接著要發生了。據此，傳統中國皇帝逢天災如乾旱、地震等，就要修省自身，並允許朝臣上奏建言，力求改進，以此來回應「天意」。如明萬曆十二年到十三年(1584-1585)間，京師大旱，萬曆皇帝於十三年的四月「步禱於南郊」 — 就是躬身步行帶著百官到四里外的天壇圜丘去祭天祈雨，還面諭大學士：

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[22] 《大清太宗文皇帝實錄》，卷三十七，臺北，華文書局，1964。

[23] 《大清太宗文皇帝實錄》，卷三十六，臺北，華文書局，1964。

[24] 《春秋繁露•必仁且知》，轉引自韓星撰，〈由古今之道而天人之際 — 董仲舒天人之學的歷史根源與王道政治的構建〉，《江蘇社會科學》，2015年2期，頁42。

「天旱，雖由朕不德，亦天下有司貪婪…」[25]　於承認自己「不德」之餘，認為相關官員也有責任。無論如何，萬曆皇帝此舉令臣民莫不感動[26]，但也可能是23歲的青年萬曆對久旱不雨的「天譴」感到驚慌害怕，以步禱祈雨回應天譴。萬曆的祖父世宗(1522-1566在位)嘉靖三十四年(1555)十二月十二日夜發生「華縣大地震」，受災面積達一百多萬平方公里，是目前為止中國歷史上，乃至世界史上最嚴重的一次地震。根據《明世宗實錄》的記載，地震發生時，「壓死官吏軍民奏報有名者八十三萬有奇。…其不知名未經奏報者復不可數計。」[27] 就是有確切姓名的死亡人數達83萬多名，那些整村或全家被埋沒的不知有多少。因為地震發生時新年逼近，朝廷官員多已放假返鄉，勘災與救災行動一直到次年的二月五日才開始：

　　禮部以山西、河南同日地震，請如例修省九卿、科道，許極言時政得失，凡可以救災恤民者條奏。其被災地方遣大臣一人祭告境內名山大川、河洛之神，及祀典所載神祇，其死者收瘞，為厲壇以祭之，上是其議，乃命戶部左侍郎鄒守愚往。[28]

　　表示除了徵求各部會大臣等之國是建言，也派戶部左侍郎鄒守愚前往災區的名山大川去祭告諸神。從史料上看，離震央陝西華縣三十里的山西霍州有一碑刻，祭拜當地「中鎮霍山之神」。鄰近的武鄉縣也有一座致祭「焦龍之神」的碑刻，兩者內容大同小異，都是皇帝對此災變深覺惶恐，要請「中鎮霍山之神」或「焦龍之神」等幫忙替他在天帝面前「敷祐旋斡」的多說好話，要「潛消劫難，錫福生民地方」就靠他們的協助了。由此可知，皇帝回應「失德」引發的「天譴」，就是靠祭拜其認為可直達天聽的山神，祈求山神幫他說好話，讓上天息怒，以便造福生民地方，當然也確保自己可繼續「受命於天」。

五、臣民如何順從「天意」

　　至於臣民的天命觀如何，從一些耳熟能詳的說詞就可知傳統中國人對天的認知，如天下紛亂，各路英雄競逐的動亂時

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25 清 張廷玉等撰，《明史》卷二十，神宗本紀，北京，中華書局，1995，頁270。

[26] 黃仁宇著，《萬曆十五年》，臺北，食貨出版社，頁150-154。

[27] 《明世宗實錄》，卷四百三十，嘉靖三十四年十二月十二日壬寅條。

[28] 《大清滿州實錄》，台北，台灣華聯出版社，1964，頁2-7。

期，庶民百姓就認為「要變天了」。個人如遇頓挫只能說「謀事在人，成事在天」。面臨災變禍福的人事無常，就有「死生有命，富貴在天」之說。若屢遇逆境，諸事不順，就會「怨天尤人」等等之成語俯拾即是。具體的例子如臺北故宮博物院所藏《清太宗實錄初纂本》，記天聰九年七月插漢兒國(Cahar)額勒克空戈落(Erke Konggor)部下來歸皇太極，其阿乞兔台吉(Acitu taisi)上奏皇太極說：「我國主天命(abkai jalgan)既盡而歿，惟上福大，故我國全歸。…」[29] 說的是蒙古察哈爾部的最後一位林丹汗(1592-1634)，和努爾哈齊與皇太極父子爭戰多年，天聰六年(1632)皇太極對其發動大規模的征討，林丹汗往西一路敗逃，天聰八年(1634)紮寨大草灘(今甘肅境內)時過世。上引《清太宗實錄初纂本》即次年林丹汗的殘部來歸時所言。

於此可知，上古周人滅商後演釋出來以說服商朝遺民「天命靡常，惟德是依」 － 天命的可轉移性，幾千年來影響了中國，成為中國君臣上下一體的政治運作與行為依歸。

小結

清末孫逸仙(1866-1925)的革命，以「驅逐韃虜，恢復中華」為推翻滿清帝國的革命宣言，經過十多次前仆後繼的活動後，終於在辛亥年(1911)的革命成功，建立民國。然而，本著後代修前代史的慣例，民國十六年由一百餘位歷史學人及專家大致完成的《清史稿》，在〈太祖本紀〉中，對清太祖努爾哈齊的贊辭是「太祖天錫神勇，神武絕倫…薩爾滸一役，奠商業定，遷都瀋陽，規模遠矣。比於岐、豐，無多讓焉。」[30] 於清太宗皇太極〈太宗本紀〉的贊辭是：「太宗允文允武，內修政事，外勤討伐，用兵如神，所向有功。…七致書於明之將帥，屈意請和。明人不量強弱，自亡其國，無足論者。然帝交鄰之道，實與湯是葛、文王事昆夷無以異。嗚呼，聖矣哉！」[31]前者視清太祖的建國規模較之奠商的周代不遑多讓，後者甚至將清太宗的大業比擬周文王，而二人正是滿清帝國開基立業的祖宗。

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[29] 《清太宗實錄初纂本》，卷之二十，臺北，國立故宮博物院藏。

[30] 清史稿校註編纂小組編纂，《清史稿校註》，臺北，國史館，1986，頁18。

[31] 清史稿校註編纂小組編纂，《清史稿校註》，臺北，國史館，1986，頁70。

如是觀之，孫中山所驅逐的「韃虜」，在民國建立後的一些飽學之士中，竟然是上古周人所創建帝王「天命觀」的正統傳承者，與孫逸仙的思想背道而馳。是則幾千年來中國皇帝的「天命觀」，不僅及於中國皇帝，也深植於知識分子心中，即使「天命」的帝制不再，仍餘波蕩漾的盤旋於中國社會。

Colonel A. P. Appen in China (1925–1927)
(A Very Short Biography of a Soviet Military Advisor)

Mario Appen

Abstract

In this article, I look at the activities of Alexander Petrovich Appen (1893–1937), one of the many Soviet military advisers who worked in China during the Chinese Revolution of 1925–1927. Using the scarce information from open sources related to the biography of colonel Appen, I consider a phenomenon inherent to the whole period of existence of the USSR, namely the Institute of Military Advisers, specialists and volunteers, as an aspect of the so-called hybrid war.

Резюме: *В настоящата статия разглеждам дейността на Александър Петрович Аппен (1893-1937), един от множеството съветски военни съветници, работили в Китай по време на Китайската революция от 1925–1927 г. Чрез оскъдните, по обясними причини, сведения за дейността на полковник Аппен засягам и явление присъщо за целия период от съществуването на СССР, а именно института на военните съветници, специалисти и доброволци като аспект на хибридната война.*

The idea for this article arose when, while looking for materials on the history of Iran, I accidentally came across a man bearing the same last name as mine, namely the Soviet military attaché in Tehran, Alexander Petrovich Appen. That intrigued me and I searched for more information on him. From the scarce biographical data I found online[1], I realized that A.P. Appen also participated in the Chinese civil war events in the 1920s. This fact served as a basis for the writing of this article. Additional sources such as the memoirs of direct participants in the events are adduced.
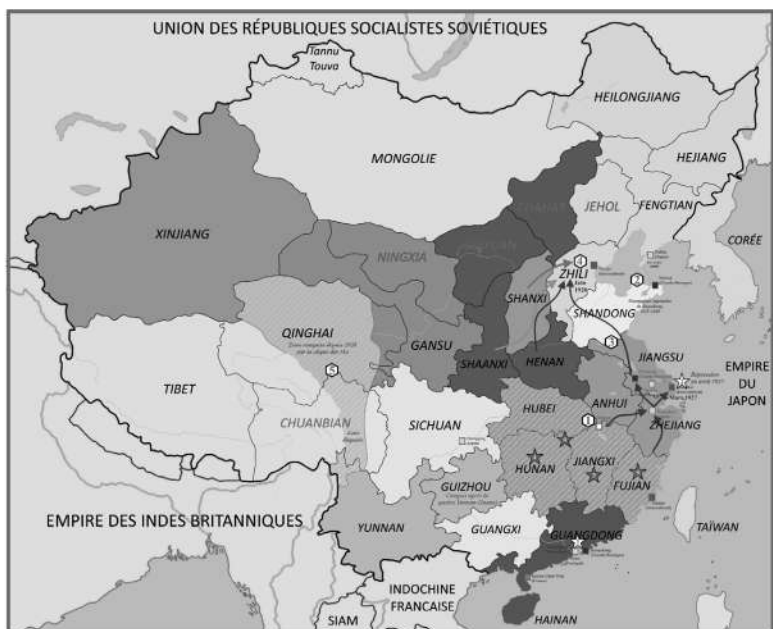
The Warlord Era in China

The so-called Warlord Era covers the period of ten years after the death in 1916 of Yuan Shikai, who "… was a military man, later to

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[1] In http://1937god.info/node/17, webpage last visited on 28 September 2017.

be called the 'father of the warlords'" (Fairbank & Goldman 2009: 251), and largely ended in 1928 with the North Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army of Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek.

The country is falling apart. The general situation can be described as a virtual lack of any central power. Each region is governed by a certain clique, headed by a general, commander of troops recruited locally, that is, of the inhabitants of the respective province or region that speak the same dialect. The latter led to an even greater opposition – North vs. South. From the public domain map, although in French, we can get a clear-cut vision of the political and military situation in the 1920s in China.

Map of China in 1927–1928

La Chine de 1927 à 1928

Amidst all this political chaos in September 1926[2] in China, as a military advisor to the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Shanghai under the name A. P. Hmeliov, arrived the associate of the Intelligence Directorate (Razvedupr or Fourth Department) of the Red Army Staff Alexander Petrovich Appen. Under his direct leadership, there were three uprisings of Shanghai workers, the last of which was successful and led to the conquest of the city (Kolpakidi & Prohorov 1999: II, 152).

It should be mentioned that during these events, the failed second rebellion of February 20 and the successful third rebellion on March 21, 1927, Appen worked side by side with Zhou Enlai, who at that time was the head of the aforementioned Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai.

In general, this is what I was able to find out about Alexander Petrovich's participation in the stormy events in China in the 1920s. Further clarity on the strategic tasks to be solved by the leadership of Soviet Russia in China, in whose implementation A. P. Appen and other hundreds of Soviet and Comintern agents were just cogs in a machine, can be obtained by citing memoirs of direct participants at the strategic level, such as those of generalissimus Chiang Kai-shek, as well as information from partially declassified Soviet sources – after all, 90 years have passed since the events.

Let's first quote Chiang Kai-shek: "The Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) has only one goal in China – to turn the Communist Party of China into its obedient tool" (Chiang 2009: 39). "Their Internationalism and World Revolution is nothing else than Tsarism under a different name. It is used only to make it easier to mislead the outside world" (Chiang 2009: 39).

"Moreover, I firmly felt that the Russian strategy and the program of the World Revolution represented an even greater threat to our national independence than Western colonialism" (Chiang 2009: 40).

For people born and raised in the USSR or in some of the countries of the Socialist camp, those I would say emotionally correct words would cause a storm of outrage. The truth, however, always turns out to be stronger than anything else.

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[2]   According to other sources, A. P. Appen arrived in Shanghai on November 23, 1925. (Usov, V.N. *Soviet intelligence in China. 1920s*. Moscow: Olma Press, 2002).

The Soviet strategic goal is crystal clear – sovietization, so "…after the formation of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1921, the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1923–24 and the entry into it of the Communists and the death of Sun Yat-sen on March 12, 1925, the leadership of the Soviet Union headed by J. Stalin took a course toward inflating the Chinese revolution and its Sovietization with the aim of directing China to the 'socialist rails' in the very near future" (Kolpakidi & Prohorov 1999: I, 95).

The methods are well-known – creating chaos and insecurity through provocations, murders and terror "… as well as directives from Moscow, which stated that 'no measures should be avoided, including robbery and massacre,' in order to promote the development of a conflict between China and Western countries. Thus, the Chinese government became aware of the activities of the military and combat organizations of the CPC, which were headed by employees of the Intelligence Agency A. Appen and G. Semenov" (Kolpakidi & Prohorov 1999: I, 96).

The matter requires a few words to be said about the current hybrid war, which is actually *nihil sub sole novum*. For the case, I will quote from the book of Eugene Magda published in 2015 in response to the Russian hybrid war against Ukraine and entitled *Hybrid War: Survive and Defeat*: "Soviet Russia worked out the first "hybrid wars" in the 1920s and 1930s against the neighboring countries of Poland, China, and also in Central Asia" (Magda 2015: 32).

As an example, we can use facts from the biography of the chief military adviser at Whampoa Military Academy from June 1924, Alexander Ivanovich Cherepanov. In May 1929, under the name Ali Awzal-khan, he commanded a large detachment (of about 2000 men initially commanded by Raqib-bey – V. M. Primakov) of Red Army men dressed in Afghan uniforms. For nearly a month and a half this armed group led active military action with thousands of people killed and wounded in Afghanistan, and the cities of Mazar-e Sharif and Balkh captured. Officially, however, this squad and its march did not exist, i.e. kind of modern Russian military "green men", or *ihtamnet* (they are not there).

Alexander Appen's further destiny is typical of his time. His merits were appreciated and he was awarded the Order of the Red

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Banner in 1928. He studied at the Frunze Military Academy. In 1934, he became Chief of the Intelligence Department of the Belorussian Military District, commanded by Ieronim Petrovich Uborevich, and, in 1935, he was promoted to Colonel. From the memories of F. S. Samsonov, we can see that he had entered the friendly circle of Army Commander, 1st Rank Uborevich so that Appen's wife, L. M. Smirnova, was appointed secretary of the District Commander (Alexandrov, Uborevich-Vorovskaya et al. 1964: 48). As an immediate subordinate to Uborevich, respectively Marshal Tukhachevsky, in 1937 he became a victim of the Great Purge in the Soviet army. A sad but anticipated end for a person who devoted himself to the service of a system for which the life of an individual has no value.

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Международните реакции на инцидента
от Тиенанмън през 1989 г.

Пламена Коева

Abstract

In the end of 1970s the new Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping initiated economic and political reforms to modernize and stabilize the country after the long and exhausting years of Cultural revolution (1966-1976). Deng and his followers proclaimed the formula of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" combining the transition to market economy and extensive foreign trade with the continuation of the ruling role of the CCP. Parallel with modernization and acceptance of new technologies from the West new liberal ideas made their way in the PRC. The unexpected death of the prominent Chinese reformer Hu Yaoban provoked many young Chinese who admired him to go out on the streets as an act of mourning. The demonstrations grew into a massive procession of thousands students, intellectuals, and workers dissatisfied with the great corruption and insufficient level of reforms in the political sphere. Till 1989 Chinese authorities managed to suppress different protests in a peaceful way, without using weapons. The situation in the summer of 1989 was different. Worried by the scale of the protests not only in Beijing, but in other major cities in the country, Chinese leadership decided to suppress the protests with force (3-4 June 1989).

After The Tiananmen Square events China became once again internationally isolated. Freshly normalized Sino-Soviet relations did not allow Gorbachev to make any major suggestions or statements. The Soviet leader did not denounce Chinese official's actions and he only stated that he would have tried to find a way for peaceful actions. Some Communist states supported the Chinese government but as a hole the Soviet Bloc countries were occupied with major internal political changes and with transformation to Western model of democracy. That is why all political, economic, cultural, and party relations with foreign states remained in the background. The United States and their allies criticized the crackdown, imposed economic and arms embargoes, suspended aid and loan programs, and cancelled all high-level meetings with Chinese officials.

In this complex situation PRC once again had to find new partners. Many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were not critical and some

even supported the Chinese government. Beijing used this situation as an advantage to calm down internal tension caused from Tiananmen protests and on their side Third World countries used the opportunity of the lack of any competition from the developed world for Chinese market to intense economic and trade relations with China.

Студентските демонстрации, започнали в средата на април 1989 г. на площад Тиенанмън, в края на май придобиват масов характер, като към студентите се присъединяват както преподаватели и интелектуалци, така и представители на работническата класа. Студенти и интелектуалци използват смъртта на китайския реформатор Ху Яобан на 15 април 1989 г., за да поставят своите искания за политически реформи и разширяване на гражданските права. Постепенно към техните исканията се присъединяват множество работници и граждани, водени от желанието да сложат край на политическата корупция, растящото социално разслоение и високата инфлация в страната[1]. Така протестите освен в Пекин намират своя глас и в много други китайски градове. Появата за пръв път на подобно междукласово обединение между интелектуалци и работници буди сериозно притеснение сред управляващите в Пекин, особено сред консервативно настроените (Mason 2002: 164–165). След известно колебание в китайското ръководство вземат превес консерваторите, които налагат решението за използване на военна сила срещу протестиращите в нощта на 3 срещу 4 юни 1989 г.

Потушените със сила протести от Тиенанмън изменят не само вътрешнополитическата ситуация, но се отразяват и на отношенията на Китайската народна република (КНР) с останалите държави по света. Поради присъствието на чуждестранни медии и репортери, дошли да отразяват посещението на съветския лидер Михаил Горбачов (15–18 май 1989 г.) и последвалото

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[1] Повече за протестите и причините, довели до тях виж: (Fairbank 2012: 487–516; MacFarquhar 1993: 340–471; Mason 2002: 159–188; Vogel 2011).

от това официално нормализиране на отношенията между двата комунистически гиганта, масовите демонстрации придобиват широко медийно отразяване по целия свят. Бихме могли да групираме международните реакции най-основно в три групи според начина, по който страните реагират на събитията: 1. САЩ, Япония и развитите западни страни; 2. СССР и Източна Европа; 3. Развиващите се страни от т. нар. „Трети свят".

САЩ, Япония и развитите западни страни

Насилственият край на протестното движение и предприетите репресивни мерки срещу участниците в него предизвикват вълна от критики към пекинските власти и довеждат до охлаждане на политически и икономически отношения на КНР най-вече с развитите страни (САЩ, Япония, Европейската общност, Канада и т.н.). По инициатива и под натиск на Вашингтон американските съюзници се обединяват около налагането през следващите месеци на серия от санкции, които включват: преустановяване на военното сътрудничество, на продажбите на военно оборудване и високи технологии; преустановяване на търговските връзки и отпускането на заеми от правителствени институции и международни банки; преустановяване на контактите на високо равнище (Kissinger 2012: 361–365; Yuan 1996: 316–320).

Позицията на **Съединените щати**, както по-късно става ясно, има двойствен характер. Белият дом публично осъжда строго кръвопролитията от Тиенанмън и призовава световната общност към налагане на серия от санкции и ограничения на Китай. Неофициално нещата обаче не стоят по същия начин. За САЩ Китай е важен партньор и това си проличава само 2–3 седмици след събитията в Пекин от 4 юни 1989 г. На 20 юни с.г. американският президент изпраща лично и приятелско писмо до Дън Сяопин, в което подчертава важността на китайско-американските отношения и желанието да се запази стратегическото сътрудничество между двете страни (Bush 1989: 428–431). Джордж Буш нарушава собствената си забрана за контакти на високо равнище с Китай като на 30 юни изпраща в Пекин в пълна конфиденциалност двама представители на американската

администрация[2]. Целта на посещението е да се запазят отворени дипломатическите канали за комуникация и да се увери китайското ръководство, че санкциите са временно явление, породено от остon острите обществени нагласи в САЩ[3].

Европейската общност се присъединява към санкциите, но за разлика от Съединените щати, Западна Европа не прекъсва официалния културен обмен с азиатската страна. Друг различен от американските мерки момент виждаме в това, че санкциите нямат за цел да възпрепятстват европейските фирми да развиват търговски отношения с Китай[4]. Западноевропейските правителства бързо достигат до заключението, че един конструктивен ангажимент към КНР би оказал по-голямо влияние върху китайската политика, отколкото тласкането на страната към международна изолация (Shambaugh 1992: 110; Cheng 1991: 203–235).

Японската реакция е малко по-различна от тази на САЩ и Западна Европа. Към 1989 г. Китай заема челни позиции в японския износ и представлява важен пазар, който Токио трудно може да пренебрегне. Поради своите съюзнически отношения с Вашингтон обаче, Страната на изгряващото слънце е принудена да се съобрази с общия курс на налагане на санкции на Пекин, макар и с неохота. Само месец след трагичните събития в китайската столица, на среща на високо равнище на Г-7 в Париж

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[2] Специалните пратеници на президента са съветникът по въпросите на националната сигурност – ген. Брент Скаукрофт и заместник-държавния секретар Лорънс Игълбъргър.

[3] През следващите месеци неофициални посещенния осъществяват близките до Пекин Х. Кисинджър и Р. Никсън, а през декември с.г. Скаукрофт и Игълбърг са отново в Пекин. Този път визитата им е обявена публично. След посещението Буш одобрява някои търговски сделки, а Китай от своя страна през януари 1990 г. премахва военното положение в Пекин и освобождава част от участниците в протестите. Така година след инцидента от Тиенанмън американските санкции спрямо Китай започват да придобиват все по-символичен характер (Cheng 1991: 213–214; Yuan 1996: 322).

[4] В информативен доклад от българското външно министерство се отбелязва: „Независимо от това състояние на отношенията в политическата област и въведените колективни икономически санкции по линия на ЕИО, взаимната търговия продължава да се развива, главно поради заинтересоваността на частния бизнес." (ДА на МВнР, оп. 47–5, а.е. 82, л. 4).

японският министър-председател призовава страните-участнички да не изолират КНР, защото последствията от такава политика биха дестабилизирали района на Азия (Katada 2001: 44–45). Япония е първата страна, която официално обявява премахване на санкциите и нормализира отношенията си с Китай една година след инцидента от Тиенанмън (Kovalio 1991: 21; Vogel 2004: 65). Бихме могли да си обясним поведението на Токио като вземем под внимание няколко съображения. Първо, японското правителство възприема КНР като важен фактор за стабилността в региона и не е склонна да приеме Пекин просто като „дипломатическа карта“, променяща значението си с изменението на международната обстановка. Токио подозира, че ако Китай бъде изолиран, това би създало предпоставка за пораждането на конфликтна и войствена политика на Пекин към външния свят. Друг определящ фактор представлява силния икономически интерес на японските бизнес среди, които оказват натиск на правителството за премахване на санкциите и възстановяване на търговските отношения с Китай. Трето съображение, което трябва да се вземе под внимание, е, че на фона на японските престъпления в Китай през предходните десетилетия Токио не се чувства в позиция да отправя критики към пекинските власти (Kesavan, 1990: 669–681; Vogel 2002: 66–69; Vogel 2004: 10–11).

Канадското правителство се опитва да наложи широк спектър от санкции на КНР, но успеваемостта на прилагането им до голяма степен зависи от действията на САЩ и Япония в тази насока. В края на 80-те години защитата на човешките права заема важно място във външнополитическата линия на Канада, което обуславя по-острата позиция на Отава спрямо насилието срещу протестиращите на Тиенанмън. Канада се опитва да прокара резолюция, осъждаща действията на китайското ръководство, но документът не влиза в сила заради въздържалите се страни. Вътрешният натиск от бизнеса, както и осъществяването на дипломатически и икономически контакти с Китай от американска и японска страна тласкат правителството в Отава към смекчаване на тона и пренебрегване на санкциите (Gecelovsky 1995: 564–593; Gecelovsky 2001: 75–97).

СССР и Източна Европа

За разлика от Запада сред социалистическите страни инцидентът от Тиенанмън (4 юни) не предизвиква съгласуван отговор и санкции. Официалните коментари са сдържани и варират в зависимост конкретната обстановка в дадената държава.

В разгара на студентските протести на Тиенанмън **Съветският съюз** и КНР нормализират отношенията помежду си с посещението на Михаил Горбачов в Пекин от 15 до 18 май 1989 г. Протестиращите китайски студенти, интелектуалци и работници до голяма степен черпят вдъхновение от протичащата паралелно в СССР политика на „Перестройка" и „Гласност", на която китайските лидери гледат с недоверие заради бързия темп на реформите. Това е и причината, въпреки желанието на протестиращите, Горбачов да откаже среща с тях, както и да отговаря сдържано и предпазливо на въпроси на чуждестранните медии по тази тема (Wang 1990: 73).

Официално съветското правителство обявява, че случилото се на 4 юни 1989 г. на пл. Тиенанмън е вътрешен проблем за Китай, който страната следва да реши самостоятелно. Въпреки известните симпатии на Михаил Горбачов към китайските студенти, ситуацията на наскоро нормализирани отношения с Пекин, не му позволява да отправи критики към китайското ръководство. На по-късен етап съветският първи изказва съжаление за насилието над студентите и отбелязва, че в подобна ситуация той лично би предпочел политически диалог като начин за преодоляване на социалните проблеми. В съветските обществени среди се изказват някои критики относно действията на пекинските власти, но Горбачов си дава сметка, че възстановените отношения с КНР са от по-голямо значение за Москва. Критикуване или налагане на санкции би повлияло отрицателно на съветско-китайските отношения, от чието положително развитие Кремъл има нужда (Wishnick 2001: 106–107). В духа на нормализираните отношения Москва и Пекин засилват търговските си отношения; разменят правителствени посещения на високо равнище; засилват междупартийните връзки; подписват разнородни споразумения за сътрудничество; работят усърдно по доуточняване на гранич-

ната линия, за която с различна интензивност се водят преговори между двете страни от средата на 60-те години (ДА на МВнР, оп. 60-П, а.е.51, л. 52; Cheng 1991: 215–216).

От страните в Източна Европа неодобрение към действията на китайската армия изразяват **Унгария**, **Полша** и **Югославия**. Техните правителства официално осъждат инцидента от 4 юни 1989 г., но не предприемат никакви самостоятелни или колективни санкции. В трите социалистически страни се организират протести пред китайските посолства, които имат краткотрременен характер и не довеждат до съществени промени във външнополитическата линия към КНР (Shambaugh 1992: 112; Baev 2012: 248).

Съвесем различно реагират **ГДР**, **Чехословакия**, **България** и **Румъния**. Правителствата в четирите страни заемат одобрителна позиция и изразяват подкрепа за китайското ръководство. Те определят действията на пекинските лидери за правилни и ограничават медийните публикации за събитията от Тиенанмън, като властите в ГДР стигат до там, че да определят новините за жертви за подправени. Гражданите в ГДР се опитват да организират протест пред китайското посолство, но източногерманското правителство не разрешава подобна инициатива (Sarotte 2012: 167).

Въпреки множеството разменени делегации между страните от Източна Европа и Китай до края на 1989 г., източноевропейските правителства не успяват да допринесат за излизането на Пекин от международната изолация, заради последвалите промени, довели до падането на комунистическите режими в Европа.

Третият свят

В създалата се международна обстановка КНР обръща поглед към страните от Третия свят, като възможен ареал на развитие на сътрудничество и начин да не остане напълно изолиран от международната арена[5]. Държавите от Азия, Африка и Латинска

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[5] ДА на МВнР, оп. 61, а.е. 40, л. 45: „Една от важните цели на външната политика на Китай е по-нататъшното подобряване и задълбочаване на добросъседските отношения със страните от района и активизиране на икономи-

Америка не са критични към събитията от Тиенанмън, а се концентрират към развиването на взаимоизгодно сътрудничество.

Първоначално, Китай концентрира своето внимание върху възстановяване, подобряване или нормализиране на отношенията с възможно най-голям брой държави, особено със съседните. Държавите от **Югоизточна Азия** (без значение дали са членове на АСЕАН или не) се въздържат от критики към Пекин и определят случилото се като вътрешен проблем за Поднебесната империя (Wang 1990: 71). КНР успява да възстанови дипломатическите си отношения с **Индонезия** и установява такива със **Сингапур**, **Бруней, Южна Корея, Саудитска Арабия** и **Израел.** Пекинското ръководство подобрява своите отношенията с **Индия** и **Виетнам** (Vogel 2001: 64-65).

Впечатление прави рязкото подобряване на търговските отношения с **Тайван**[6], който се възползва от липсата на конкуренция за китайските пазари от страна на западните държави, които преустановяват икономическите си връзки с континентален Китай (ДА на МВнР, оп. 60-П, а. е. 51, л. 55; Lee Lai To 1991: 37–40). Значително се увеличава търговският обмен и с **Южна Корея**[7], чрез която Пекин може да се сдобие с високи технологии, недостъпни за Китай от Запад (Cheng 1991: 221).

През лятото и есента на 1989 г. китайският външен министър Циен Цичън посещава някои страни от района на **Африка** (август) и **Близкия изток**[8] (септември), за да подсили влияние-

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ческото и търговското сътрудичество с тях. През годината представители на висшето ръководство на Китай посетиха и приеха ръководителите на почти всички съседни страни. От китайска страна бе продемонстрирана откритост и готовност за обединение за защита на регионалните интереси на страните от тихоокеанския регион.“

[6] Тази политика на сътрудничество и подобряване на отношенията е започната от Чан Кайшъ, а след смъртта му през 1988 г. е доразвита от неговия наследник Ли Дънхуей. Посредством засилване на икономическите връзки се поставят основите на мирното съвместно съществуване между двата наследника на Китайската империя (Béja 2011: 196).

[7] След дълги преговори КНР установява дипломатически отношения с Южна Корея през август 1992 г.

[8] Посещения на високо равнище в Близкия изток: септември 1989 г. – външният министър Циен Цичън посещава Йордания, Египет, Сирия, Тунис и

то на КНР в тези региони, които добиват по-голямо значение за китайската външна политика и икономическо развитие. Пекин иска да засвидетелства ангажираността си към страните от Третия свят и да акцентира върху възможността за развитие на взаимоизгодно сътрудничество в рамките на различни международни организации (Cheng 1991: 219–220; Shichor 1992: 88–89).

След 1989 г. КНР се стреми да засили своите дипломатически и икономически връзки и с държавите от **Латинска Америка**. Част от латиноамериканските страни, като Коста Рика, Гренада и др., преустановяват отношения с Пекин, но повечето използват благоприятната за тях възможност. Осъществява се обмен на разнородни делегации на високо равнище, подписват се споразумения за сътрудничество в различни области, които подпомагат икономиките и на двата региона[9]. Китайското ръководство си дава сметка, че най-добре за страната ще бъде придържането към една по-балансирана политика, чрез която да се избегне зависимостта от Вашингтон за осъществяване на планираната от Пекин модернизация (Mora 1997: 35; 47–48).

Заключение

Наложените санкции и преустановените търговски връзки със Съединените щати и развитите икономики безспорно се отразяват отрицателно на КНР и забавят развитието на започнатите реформи за отваряне на комунистическата страна към света. Въпреки сложната ситуация Китай успява да преодолее политическата и икономическата изолация благодарение на многополярността на света през 1989 г., което позволява на Пекин да търгува с широк кръг от държави с различен управленски строй. През 1989 г. КНР преориентира външната си политика, като кон-

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Иран; декември – китайският президент Ян Шанкун извършва визити в Египет, ОАЕ, Кувейт и Оман (Shichor 1992: 89).

[9] През 1990 г. Ян Шанкун посещава 5 латиноамерикански страни (Мексико, Уругвай, Бразилия, Аржентина и Чили) и подписва редица споразумения за сътрудничество в областта на икономиката, търговията, науката и технологиите. Посещението е широко отразено в латиноамериканските медии, което подчертава голямата значимост, която те придават сътрудничеството си с китайската страна (Mora 1999: 102).

центрира вниманието си към страните от Третия свят. Както и преди, в ситуацията на несигурност и криза Пекин насочва своите усилията към политиката на добросъседство и подобряване на политическите, икономически и културни отношения с възможно най-широк кръг от държави.

Трябва да се подчертае, че въпреки преустановените официални правителствени контакти, Западът не се стреми да тласне Китай към пълна международна изолация, която да доведе до неговото дестабилизиране. Доказателство за това са многобройните неофициални правителствени посещения от САЩ, Япония, Западна Европа и др., с които те демонстрират желание за запазване на отношенията си с Пекин. КНР има важно значение за сигурността и стабилността както в регионално отношение, така и в по-широк план. Международните нагласи към наследника на Поднебесната империя се подобряват значително от ролята, която страната изиграва по отношение на Иракската криза и в мирната конференция за Камбоджа (Béja 2011: 197–198)[10].

Западните санкции са напълно премахнати само 2 години след репресиите на Тиенанмън, въпреки индикациите на голяма част от капиталистическите страни, че имат готовност за отмяната им на още по-ранен етап. Дън Сяопин и съмишлениците му не бързат да подновят отношенията. Изолацията, наложена от Запада, който Пекин обвинява за провокиране на протестните демонстрации, осигурява подходящ предтекст на китайските власти да ограничат културните връзки с тях и по-лесно да канализират натрупалото се обществено напрежение (Dittmer 1997: 37).

Международната изолация на КНР се оказва краткотрайна, а наложените му санкции – неефективни поради силните икономически интереси към китайските пазари. За да намери пътя си обратно, Пекин насочва външнополитическия си интерес както към стари, така и към намирането на нови партньори. Ролята на Китай в решаването на международни проблеми и тежестта

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[10] През август 1990 г. Ирак нахлува в Кувейт и го окупира. От гласа на Китай засиси влизането в сила на резолюция па ООН за започване на коалиционна война срещу Ирак. Пекин не спира резолюцията и в последствие Вашингтон се отблагодарява с отменяне на санкциите и постепенно нормализиране на китайско-американските отношения (Vogel 2002: 131).

на гласа му в многостранни световни и регионални организации в края на 90-те години превръщат азиатската страна във важен фактор на международната карта, който не може да бъде пренебрегван с лека ръка.

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Проблемът за произхода на древния народ Цян (古羌) и мястото му в китайската история

Цветелина Недялкова

Abstract

The name 'ancient Qiang' refers to people or a group of people, living on the western borders of the Chinese empire as early as the Shang dynasty (16th–11th cent. BCE). They were one of the most ancient tribes mentioned in the oracle bone inscriptions, being called 'shepherds' by the Chinese people.

The aim of the present article is to examine the different existing theories, regarding the origin of the ancient Qiang people, namely their Tibeto-Burman and Indo-European origin.

Keywords: ancient Qiang people, oracle bone inscriptions, shepherds, Rong, Jiang clan, Tocharians, Yuezhi

От особена важност за пълноценното познаване на китайската култура и история е изучаването на народите, живеещи по границите на китайската империя през различните епохи на развитието ѝ, поради тяхното неизменно влияние върху етно-политическите процеси в региона. Изучаването на тези етноси понякога е затруднено от субективността на китайските исторически извори, които са насочени най-вече към легитимизиране на китайската власт, поради което на голяма част от „варварите" е приписван митологичен произход, сходен с този на ханците, имащи за свои предтечи Тримата повелители и Петимата императори (三皇五帝) (Chen 1993: 28–31; Huang 2015: 63–65; Di Cosmo 2002: 300). Така например, хуните в традиционната китайската историография, повлияна от митологията, са възприемани за наследници на Чун Уей (淳维), който е от управляващия род на династия Ся (夏朝，2070–1600 г. пр.н.е.) (Di Cosmo 2002: 300). Друг проблем при изучаването на историята на номадските народи по границите на китайската империя е свързан с това, че в китайските източници те се появяват за първи път

около V в. пр.н.е. и се налага впечатлението, че тяхното при-
съствие в тези райони е задвижено от създаването на китайската
държавност като център, който привлича останалите по-нисши
народи (Di Cosmo 2002: 57). В реалност, те са съществували в
съседство с китайците още по времето на династия Шан (商朝,
1571–1046 г. пр.н.е.) и дори още по-рано (Loewe & Shaughnessy
1999: 887), което означава, че между тях е имало взаимодейст-
вия. Не е тайна, например, че колесниците и конете са привнесе-
ни в китайската култура най-вероятно от Централна Азия, тоест
от народите, живеещи по западната граница на Китай (Di Cosmo
2002: 29).

Един от тези некитайски народи, който до голяма степен е
все още непълноценно проучен, са древните Цян (古羌). За тях
също традиционно се смята, че произхождат от китайски ми-
тологични личности като Великия Ю[1] (大禹), а кланът Дзян
(姜), произлизащ от Цян, е свързан с император Йенди (炎帝)
и митологичния владетел Шън Нун (神农), бог на земеделието
(Koval 2014: 39, Huang 2015: 63–64). Въпреки това, тези твърде-
ния следва да се приемат не толкова като историческа истина,
колкото като опит за придаване на право на обединяване от стра-
на на китайската империя в древността.

Смята се, че по времето на династия Шан хората от етноса
Цян са обитавали южната част на днешната провинция Шанси и
северните части на провинциите Хънан и Шаанси. Най-ранните
записи за тях се откриват още върху гадателните кости, което
ги прави един от първите „варварски" народи, споменавани в
китайските източници. Те са описвани като най-постоянния враг
на Шанците, а по-късно – като съюзник на Джоуците в придо-
биването на династийната власт. От многобройността на арми-
ите, който Шанците са събирали срещу Цян, личи, че вторите
са били силен и многоброен противник, а също така и че по-
ради неизяснени причини са били от голяма важност за своите
врагове – много често Шански войски са изпращани „на лов"
за Цянци, които са принасяни в жертвоприношения на боговете
(Shelach 1996: 13). Специалният статут на етноса Цян може да

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[1]   《史记·六国年表》：“禹兴于西羌。”(Цит. по Huang 2015: 63).

бъде забелязан и от това, че негови представители са участвали в приготвянето на гадателни кости (Loewe & Shaughnessy 1999: 908), до което едва ли са били допускани хора без определени (свещени) правомощия. Това, разбира се, може да се разглежда и като умен ход за омиротворяване на народ, който застрашава западните граници, но не е изключена и възможността Шанците да са имали по-нетрадиционно отношение към този номадски етнос. Професор Гидиън Шелах от Еврейския университет в Йерусалим например смята, че е възможно Цян да са смятани за *„физически и духовно силни и опасни"* (Shelach 1996: 18). Причините за това все още изглеждат неясни, но все пак пораждат въпроса с какво този народ е бил по-специален.

В историческите извори представителите на етноса са наричани още и „конни Цян" (马羌) или „Цян с многобройни коне" (多马羌), от което можем да заключим, че са отглеждали коне и вероятно са били умели в ездата (Loewe & Shaughnessy 1999: 908).

Един от най-интересните спорове около ролята на Цян в китайската история е свързан с предположението, че те са участвали в основаването на династия Джоу (周朝, 1046–256 г. пр.н.е.), която традиционно е смятана за една от най-великите китайски династии. Известен е митът за Хоу Дзи[2] (后稷) – легендарният предтеча на династия Джоу, чиято майка Дзян Юен (姜嫄) стъпва в отпечатъка на великан и забременява. След раждането тя оставя детето на произвола на съдбата, но то е закриляно от всички животни, което е свидетелство за неговия необикновен произход (Loewe & Shaughnessy 1999: 299). Важната линия, която тук може да бъде проследена е, че Дзян Юен принадлежи към клана Дзян (姜), от който владетелите на династия Джоу са избирали съпругите си, тоест може да бъде обобщено, че това е родът на Джоуците по майчина линия. В съвременната китаистика има предположения, че родът Дзян е клан, произхождащ от древните Цян, най-вече поради сходството в графичното изписване на техните йероглифи (разликата между двата е само в смисловия ключ – „човек" при йероглифа Цян (羌) и „жена" при

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[2] Кристофър Бекуит (Beckwith 2005: 3) смята, че произходът на този мит е централноазиатски.

йероглифа Дзян (姜). Много изследователи отричат сходството при записването като достатъчно основание двата етнонима да са свързани помежду си, но беларуската изследователка Дарина Ковал чрез графичен и фонетичен лингвистичен анализ на двата йероглифа доказва, че това са мъжки и женски варианти на един и същи йероглиф и по тази причина е сигурно, че между двата народа има родствена връзка (Koval 2014: 34–40). Това е потвърдено и от китайски изследователи като Чън Лиенкай (Chen 1993: 28) и Ян Хуан (Huang 2015: 64), които, следвайки китайската историческа традиция, приемат родствената връзка на Цян и Дзян.

Към гореизложеното може да бъде добавена и хипотезата на професор Кристофър Бекуит от Университета Индиана, че йероглифът Цян (羌) изчезва от документите за целия период на управление на династия Джоу, поради това, че е родовото име на Джоуските владетели и следователно е табуирано (Beckwith 2005: 376). Възможно е именно това да е причината йероглифът да започне да се изписва с ключ „жена" (姜). Това би означавало, че етносът, основал една от най-великите китайски династии, е бил с некитайски произход.

Други автори, като Дарина Ковал от Беларуския национален университет (Koval 2014: 36), руският професор Михаил Крюков (Kryukov 1978: 175–179) и китайският изследовател Ян Хуан (Huang 2015: 63), смятат, че името на племето Цян (羌) изчезва от Джоуските хроники поради това, че те са започнали да се наричат Рун (戎). Тук изниква въпросът, ако това ново име трайно навлиза в ранните исторически извори, защо първоначалното наименование Цян отново се завръща в употреба в хрониките от династия Хан? На второ място, Рун е етно-топоним, който по-скоро обозначава местообитанието на народа спрямо китайската империя. Това може да бъде проследено в „Книга на ритуалите" (《礼记》), където се казва, че племената на изток се наричат И (夷), на юг – Ман (蛮), на запад – Рун (戎), на север – Ди (狄) (Poo 2005: 46). Оттук става ясно, че когато Цян са наричани Цянрун (羌戎), това най-вероятно е свързано с принадлежността им към западните номадски племена.

Статията разглежда основно информацията за етноса Цян от епохите Шан, Джоу и Западна Хан (西汉, 202 г. пр. н.е. – 8 г.

н.е.), а по-късните етапи от историята на Китай не се разглеждат, тъй като поради честите движения на народи и различни политически причини е възможно със същото име да са били обозначавани и други племена. По-долу ще бъдат разгледани основни въпроси относно призхода на древните Цян, които в съвременната китаистика все още не са намерили еднозначен отговор, а именно: къде се крият корените на техния етногнезис и дали названието им отразява името на един хомогенен народ или по-скоро на група от родствени племена.

Йероглифът Цян (羌) се среща най-рано в речника „Тълкование на йероглифите" (《说文解字》) , съставен от Сю Шън (许慎, 58–147 г.), а етимологията, която авторът посочва е: „пастири от западните Рун" („羌，西戎牧羊人也").[3] Това е най-ранната дефиниция на йероглифа, но още 15 века по-рано той е използван и в около 800 надписа върху гадателни кости (Shelach 1996: 1), без да имаме контекстуални ориентири за народа, който е назовавал. Поради тази причина не можем да сме сигурни, че значението, което е имал в гадателните кости и в речника на Сю Шън са се припокривали напълно. Върху горната дефиниция в „Тълкование на йероглифите" стъпва твърдението на изследователи като Крюков, който твърди, че Цянците започват да се наричат Рун (戎) по времето на династия Джоу, когато изчезват от хрониките (Kryukov 1978: 175–179). Тази гледна точка традиционно е възприемана и от китайските изследователи (Huang 2015: 63–65, Chen 1993: 28–31). По всичко личи обаче, че Рун се среща най-вече като название, което обединява в себе си народите, живеещи на запад от империята, а не просто като заместител на името Цян.

Кристофър Бекуит от своя страна посочва, че йероглифът Цян (羌), който също може да бъде преведен като „пастири", никога не се е срещал свободно в езика с това си значение, а по-скоро винаги е бил етноним. По тази причина е възможно неговият произход от самото начало да е свързан с назоваването на народ или група народи, обозначавайки тяхната особеност, която ги е отличава от останалите, а именно, че живо-

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[3] Цит. по Chen 1993: 29.

тът им е бил тясно свързан с отглеждането на овце[4] (Beckwith 2005: 375).

Трудно е да се определи, също така, дали Цян са били хомо-генен народ или множество племена (родствени или не), оби-таващи западните погранични райони на китайската империя. Миналото и произходът на Цян са обгърнати в мистерия, поради факта, че до времето на династия Западна Хан сведенията за тях в китайските извори са твърде оскъдни, и основен и най-важен източник на информация остават гадателните кости (Shelach 1996: 3), които обаче не споменават от кой народ произлизат и дали са мигрирали от другаде. Със сигурност в по-късни епохи етнонимът Цян е обозначавал различни племена, населяващи западните покрайнини на китайската империя, което е видно от хроники като „Книга от династия Хан" (《汉书》), където са изброени народите Ър[5] Цян (婼羌)[6], Хан Цян (罕羌), Кай Цян[7] (开羌) и др., поради което могат да бъдат допуснати определени различия в начина им на живот или самостоятелност на различ-ните групи. Отношенията на отделните групи[8] с Ханската импе-рия през този период също са се различавали драстично – докато някои от тях са били нейни съюзници, други са ѝ нанасяли набе-зи или са били в съюз с хуните (Meakin 2014a: 2–8).

На базата на информацията от гадателни кости също е труд-но да се направи извод дали по времето на династия Шан етно-нимът Цян е обозначавал една или множество племенни групи. Шелах смята, че е възможно названията Цян (羌) и Цян-фан (羌方)[9], които се откриват в надписите върху гадателни кости,

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4 Някои автори посочват също, че овенът може да е бил тотемно животно на племето (племената), но е невъзможно това да бъде потвърдено от налич-ните извори (Koval 2014: 36).

5 В съвременния китайски език йероглифът 婼 се чете chuò или ruò, но в коментари към „Книга от династия Хан" се посочва, че в конкретния случай четенето му е ér (Meakin 2014a). Поради тази причина в статията е използвано именно това четене.

6 Обитавали са югозападните части на съвременната провинция Синдзян.

7 Хан Цян и Кай Цян са обитавали територии на запад от езерото Цинхай.

8 Използван е терминът „групи", вместо „държави" или „племена", тъй като статутът им не е изяснен.

9 Шелах тълкува частицата „фан" (方) като термин, който сочи режими из-вън контрола и влиянието на Шанската династия, като не се съгласява с

да са се различавали като значение и да са обозначавали отделни племена или владения (Shelach 1996: 21). Никола ди Космо, от своя страна счита, че графемата фан (方) обикновено е била предшествана от етноним и е посочвала държава, с която Шанците са имали конфликтни или други взаимоотношения[10] (цит. по Loewe & Shaughnessy 1999: 907), тоест по-вероятно е с названието Цян-фан да е било адресирано държавното образувание на Цянците. Бихме могли да допуснем, че названията Цян (羌) и Цян-фан (羌方) не просто са обозначавали племена, живеещи на запад от империята, а народ или племенни групи с общ произход и сходен начин на живот, като първото название е акцентирало върху тяхната етническа принадлежност, а второто – върху политическия им статус.

В „Книга от династия Хан" (《汉书》) се срещат още и словосъчетанията Цян-джун (羌种) или Джу-Цян (诸羌), които според Рейчъл Мийкън (Meakin 2014a: 21) могат да се преведат съответно като „(от) вида/расата на Цян" и „различните (групи) Цян"[11]. Оттук тя заключава, че в този период името Цян вече е обединявало в себе си народи с различни етнически специфики. Затова можем да приемем, че по времето на династия Западна Хан етнонимът Цян вече е бил събирателен и е обозначавал група от племена, които не е задължително да са били с общ произход, тъй като вече е била налице тенденция с това име да бъдат наричани народите, населяващи териториите на запад от китайската империя като цяло. Не е изключена възможността дори и в най-ранния период от китайската династийна история, Цян да е било общо название на племена с различен етнически произход.

Що се отнася до произхода на древните Цян, най-популярното схващане в съвременната китаистика е, че те са тибето-бирмански народ (Kychanov 2005: 10). То е породено от това, че

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определението „държави", използвано от някои автори, поради липсата на сведения за нивото на развитие на държавността им (Shelach 1996: 7).

[10] В гадателните кости се срещат също и етнонимите Гуейфан (鬼方), Туфан (土方) и др.

[11] Преводът на термина е заимстван от Уан Минкъ (Wang 1999).

съвременното малцинство Цян（羌族）[12], населяващо предимно територията на днешен Съчуан и принадлежащо към тибето-бирманската група, е смятано за директен наследник на древния народ. Но посоката, в която би трябвало да се търси приемственост между двата едноименни народа не е от съвремие към минало, а по-скоро обратното, тъй като доказателство за такава наследственост, освен споделяне на един и същи етноним, няма. На първо място може да посочим факта, че в древността много често китайците са използвали едно и също название за народи без пряка родствена връзка помежду им, базирайки се единствено на факта, че те са населявали определена територия в еднакъв или различен исторически период. Тоест, възможно е в по-късни периоди населението на земите, традиционни възприемани като територии, населявана от Цянците в миналото, да е било наречено по същия начин (Beckwith 2009: 375). От друга страна, както Уан Минкъ (Wang 1999: 43–80) посочва, словосъчетанието „етносът Цян"（羌族) се появява съвместно с движението за обособяване на китайската нация в средата на XX век. Народът, за който китайските етнолози обявяват, че е наследник на древните Цянци и носи тяхното име, започва да се нарича така едва след 1950 г., а преди това е използвал различни названия за себе си според територията, която е населявал: *rma*，*tshep*，*erh* и др.[13] (Wang 1999: 43–80). Не е ясно на какъв принцип китайските изследователи са определили хората в този район за Цянци, но според Уан Минкъ, вероятно причината е това, че народът е живеел именно на границата между тибетското и китайското влияние, а Цян са били смятани за намиращи се на тази граница и действащи именно като вид културни посредници между двата народа (Wang 1999: 43–80). Както се вижда от горепосочените факти, не можем да приемем за убедително схващането, че съвременното малцинство Цян в провинция Съчуан е приемственик на древ-

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[12] Един от 56-те етноса, живеещи на територията на Китайската народа република днес.

[13] Така например, в района на Бейчуан преди 1950 г. хората са се самоназовавали мандзъ (蛮子) – популярно прозвище на южните не-хански народи, тъй като са осъзнавали некитайския си произход, но никога не са чували за името Цян.

ните Цян（古羌）, което почива единствено на споделянето на общо име, както и да приемем тибето-бирманския произход на древните Цян, изхождайки от изследванията на етногенезиса на съвременното малцинство. Поради тази причина в настоящата статия не разглеждаме фактологията, важаща за националността Цян от XX век, а сме се фокусирали върху проблематиката на древния етнос през историческия период от династия Шан до династия Западна Хан.

Важно е да отбележим, че в съвременната китаистика съществува и хипотезата, че е възможно древните Цян да са говорели индоевропейски езици и съответно да са имали индоевропейски произход. Това предположение на професор Кристофър Бекуит е базирано на факта, че често древните китайци са имали практика (срещаща се и при отношенията им с други народи) да прехвърлят имена на по-ранни народи върху народи, които в по-късни времена са населявали същите територии, назависимо дали е имало родствена връзка между тях (Beckwith 2005: 375). Както беше показано по-горе, вероятно случаят при древните Цян е именно този.

Професор Бекуит също допуска, че името Цян (звучащо на старокитайски като klaŋ) може да е с индо-европейски произход, тъй като в тохарския език klānk означава „яздя, карам колесница", и оттук тяхното название да се превежда като „хора, каращи колесници". (Beckwith 2005: 375–376). Според други лингвисти и думата за колесница 车 (на старокитайски klla), е заемка от тохарския (Lubotsky 1998: 385). Както споменахме по-горе, в гадателните кости изследваният от нас етнос е наричан още „Цян с многобройни коне" или „конни Цян", което недвусмислено означава, че те са се занимавали с коневъдство и са били умели ездачи. Следвайки тази логика, можем да допуснем, че колесницата е била известна за тях.

В коментари към превода на „Книга от династия Хан" (《汉书》) са указани районите, които племената Цян са обитавали по време на династия Западна Хан, като в някои от тези райони са проведени археологически разкопки. В района на Сампул в подножието на планината Кунлун, за който е известно, че е населяван от етноса *Ър Цян* (婼羌), са открити останки от

хора с физически черти на народи от Източното Средиземноморие и митохондриална ДНК, принадлежаща към хаплогрупа U3 (Meakin 2014b: 19–21)[14].

Друг интересен факт, който може да бъде добавен е, че когато племената Юеджъ (月氏) са разбити от хуните около 162 г. пр.н.е., техен клон, известен като Малките Юеджъ (小月氏), остава да живее при Цянците. В „Книга от късна Хан" (《后汉书》) се споменава, че облеклото, храната и езикът на Юеджъ са доста близки с тези на Цян (или някои от групите Цян) (Meakin 2014b: 31), което може да ни доведе до предположението, че двата народа са били доста сходни в етническо отношение. От друга страна, повечето изследователи отъждествяват Юеджите, описани от китайските хронисти, с Тохарите, засвидетелствани в западните исторически извори, и потвърждават техния индоевропейски произход и език. Следователно, налице са сериозни основания да бъдат потърсени допълнителни свидетелства за индо-европейските корени на етноса Цян.

Друга следа, която ни навежда към горната хипотеза е, че в „Книга от династия Хан" (《汉书》) един от водачите на Цянските племена е наречен „владетелят Цюхулай Тандоу" (去胡来王唐兜) . В глава 96 на същата книга се казва: „царят на *Ър Цян* се нарича владетелят Цюхулай"[15]. Съществува спор относно значението на съчетанието „Цюхулай" (去胡来). Едно от предположенията е, че то означава човек, който е „бил при хуните и се е завърнал", тоест бивш съюзник на хуните, който след това е преминал на страната на ханците[16] (Meakin 2014b: 5). Но според Мийкън това предположение противоречи на обичайните титли, които ханците са давали на владетелите, превърнали се в техни съюзници. Такава например е титлата на някои владетели на хуните 归德侯 („управник, върнал се към добродетелта"), или

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[14] В днешно време хаплогрупа U3 все още се среща в Иран, Грузия, Армения, Азербайджан, Турция, Сирия, Йордан, Ирак, а в Европа – в България, на островите в Средиземноморието, Кипър, Родос, Крит (https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/mt-dnau3/about/background).

[15] „婼羌国王号去胡来王" (цит. по Meakin 2014b: 5).

[16] Според „Книга от късна Хан" (《后汉书》), А*р Цян* са били от племенните групи, които са се съюзили с ханците.

титлата 汉归义羌长[17] („водач на Цян, който се е завърнал към справедливостта при ханците") (Meakin 2014b: 5). Затова автори като Сю Уънкан (Xu 2003: 117) и Ю Тайшан (Yu 2010: 55) смятат, че Цюхулай може би показва етническа принадлежност, тъй като звучи близко до етнонима „Тохар", и оттам правят извода, че Ър Цян са били народ, родствен на Тохарите или свързан с тохарите под някаква форма. Гореизложените доказателства свидетелстват за това, че е твърде възможно част от Цянците (или всички Цянски племена) да са били родствени с индо-европейските народи, живеещи по границите на китайската империя по време на династия Западна Хан, каквито са тохарите и юеджъ.

В заключение ще обобщим, че отговорът на проблема за произхода на древните Цян трябва да бъде потърсен в расовите и етнически корени на най-древните племена, носещи това име, които са засвидетелствани в писмени паметници още от времето на династия Шан. Поради недостатъчните исторически извори, с които науката разполага на този етап, е нужно в бъдеще този въпрос да бъде разгледан в по-голяма дълбочина, като особено внимание заслужава обективното изследване на предположенията за индо-европейския произход на древните Цян, за които съществуват немалко свидетелства. Възможно е именно поради „другостта"[18] им, дължаща се на техния различен (индо-европейски) произход, древните Цянци да са били считани за по-специални или свещени от китайските си съседи и да са били принасяни в жертва, или да са участвали в приготвянето на гадателните кости по време на първите китайски династии.

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[17] От печат, открит в Таримския басейн, датиран от Западна Хан (Meakin 2014b: 5)

[18] Терминът е използван от професор Гидиън Шелах (Shelach 1996: 18).

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"Old" Women in the "New" History: Writing Chinese Women's Lives in Early Republican China

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Abstract

It has been commonly accepted that Chinese Women's Life History written by Chen Dongyuan in 1928 was the most influential book on Chinese women's history. However, it is worth noting that prior to its publication, in 1913 Xu Tianxiao 徐天嘯 (1886-1941) has written his Shenzhou Nüzi Xinshi 神州 女子新史 (New History of Chinese Women), which is "the first systematic investigation on Chinese women's history from ancient times to the early 20th century." It is a pity that very few scholars have paid attention to this book. This paper attempts to explore the following: (i) what the word "new" refers to in Xu Tianxiao's history book; (ii) why he wanted to write Chinese women's history during a tumultuous era; (iii) what are the peculiarities of this book in terms of traditional and new historical writings; (iv) what is his influence on the subsequent writers of women's history in China. Xu chose new writing structure and had a new goal in writing women's history but kept the female exemplary records in his book. This study provides an opportunity to review women's historiography from the late 19th century to the May Fourth era.

Keywords: women's historiography; Xu Tianxiao; A New History of Chinese Women; Early Republican China

Introduction

How did Chinese historians write women's history in early twentieth-century China? What is "new" and what is "old" in Chinese women's historiography? Do the writings relate to feminism or nationalism? What are the factors in 'internal' and 'external' contexts for an author to write a "new" history of women in China?

In 1913, one year after the establishment of the Republic of China, Xu Tianxiao 徐天嘯 (1886–1941) had his *Shenzhou Nüzi Xinshi* 神州女子新史 (A New History of Chinese Women, hereafter

SZNZXS) published in Shanghai by Shenzhou Press House. Shenzhou 神州 (literally "Divine Land") is the name for China, widely used in pre-modern Chinese texts. This book is regarded as "the first systematic investigation on Chinese women's history from ancient times to the early 20th century." Unfortunately, it has been ignored by contemporary historians.

This paper attempts to explore the following: (i) what the word "new" refers to in Xu Tianxiao's history book; (ii) why he wanted to write Chinese women's history during a tumultuous era; (iii) what are the peculiarities of this book in terms of traditional and new historical writings; (iv) what is his influence on the subsequent writers of women's history in China.

Prior to the 20th century, the way of writing women's history in China was biographical style. The compiler focused more on female's virtues than on women's lives. Xu Tianxiao did not follow the traditional paradigms of writing women's history. He used a new writing style which was imported from the West through Japan in the late 19th century – chapter section in organizing the book. Xu argued that Chinese women's biographies in the past are not a complete record of women, instead, they are just scattered pieces of women's lives. He said those records are just like a collection of women's epitaphs and they have nothing to do with the development of the political situation.

Xu attempted to compile the history of Chinese women to face the new ways at the turning point of the new century and in some respects, his book shows his anxiety on national crisis. This is no different from the revolutionists in the late nineteenth-century China, who appropriated civil rights as women's rights while doing propaganda. But what's most significant, he took Chinese women's history as a vehicle to awaken women/people in the early twentieth-century China, though there was no "new women" in his book. Later, Chen Dongyuan's 陳東原 *Chinese Women's Life History* 中國婦女生活史 (1928) cited some records from Xu's book, but demonstrated a very different picture of Chinese women. This study provides an opportunity to review women's historiography from the late 19th century to the May Fourth era.

1. Brief History of His Life

Xu Tianxiao was born on December 6th, 1886 in Changshou 常熟, Jiangsu 江蘇　province. Unlike some intellectuals in the early twentieth-century China, who studied abroad, he studied under his father and passed the lowest civil service examination in 1901. From 1902 to 1904, he attended Yunan Normal School 虞南師範學校 with his brother, a famous writer of the "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School"[1] – Xu Zhenya 徐枕亞　(1889–1937), and there he met one of his best friends in life – Wu Shuangre 吳雙熱　(1884–1934).

The first part of *SZNZXS* may have been completed in October 1909 (Xu 1980: 15). From 1909 to 1912, he was a teacher at a private elementary school in Changshou. In 1912, he went to Minguo 民國 Law School in Shanghai and joined KMT (Chinese National Party) later. He was unable to finish his schooling, as he was recruited as an editor for *Minquan newspaper* 民權報, which was banned in 1914 for criticizing Yuan Shikai's 袁世凱 regime. 1915 was a trying year for Xu Tianxiao, as he lost his wife, and later his four-years-old daughter. Afterwards, he married Zou Zhiyun 鄒懿雲　(1902–2003) and raised a daughter Xu Yiwen 徐懿文　(1923–) and a son Xu Chengzhi 徐成治　(1924–), who I have conducted an interview with.[2]

Tianxiao was adept at calligraphy and his written works include plenty of forms, including fiction, drama scripts, history and sphragistics, for example: *Tianxiao canmo*　天嘯殘墨, *Tianya lunluoren yinhua* 天涯淪落人印話, *Hushang bairiji* 湖上百日記, *Ziyou meng* 自由夢, and *Xu Tianxiao yinpu*　徐天嘯印譜, etc. He was also the editor-in-chief of several magazines and newspapers, such as *Xiaoshuo congbao* 小說叢報, *Huanghua xunbao* 黃花旬報, *Wu tongyuan* 五銅圓, *Haiyu zhoukan* 海虞周刊, and *Datong bao* 大同報.

His brother Xu Zhenya is seen as one of the leading writers of the "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School." Zhenya's book *Jade Pear Spirit* (*Yuli hun* 玉梨魂) is about the conflict between love and familial obligations and was very popular in 1920s-30s in China.

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[1]   Regarding the "Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies school", see (Link 1981).

[2]   I am grateful to Xu Chengzhi for his willingness to do interviews with me in June 2009 and December 2010. While doing research on this project, I gained plenty of benefits from Zhou Wenxiao 周文曉 (Zhou 2003).

People believe that the brother of the leading character in this novel, who was a revolutionist, should be based on Xu Tianxiao himself (Li 2008: 82).

In 1916, Xu Tianxiao joined the army in Guangzhou 廣州 and fought against Long Jiguang 龍濟光 (1868–1925) in 1917. In the same year, Yao Min'ai 姚民哀 (1893–1938) introduced him into Nanshe 南社, a revolutionist society. In 1930 he was recruited as the secretary of the Examination Yuan. During the Sino-Japanese war, the Xu family moved to Zhongqing 重慶 where he died on 24th of November 1941, aged 56.

2. New Goal and New Writing Style

(i) Writing a History Textbook of Women

What the word "new" refers to in Xu Tianxiao's history book? Xu Tianxiao meant to write a book on "new history." He challenged the "old" women's history in China. In the preface of his book, he emphasized:

> History, as a discipline, is very important and very complicated. In this book, I particularly tend to include the facts of women, which is not easy to do. From the beginning of history in our country, there have been plenty of facts about women to be relayed; however, so far, there is no systematic women's history [published]. … Besides, until now, there is no good history book of Manchu for my reference, so it is hard to get facts of the women of that period. (*SZNZXS*: Part II, "Faduan," 4)

He was keen on writing a women's history book in an organized manner, but he faced the problem of shortage of source materials in the Qing dynasty China (1644–1912).

No matter what, he planned to write a history book on women and for women. In the late Qing era (1840's-1912), people started to emphasize the necessary of studying history in girl's schools.[3]

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[3] In the late Qing China, there was history class in girl's schools not only to let girls acknowledge history in China but also to connect it with what they have learnt in moral education class. See (Qu & Tang, eds., 2007: 594, 586) and (Li 2007).

However, compared to those history textbooks, Wu Shuangre argued, *SZNZXS* fits women more in Republican China, as it is not so outworn. A scholar has pointed out that this book was once used as a textbook (Li 2007: 23). But so far, we do not have any information how it was used.[4]

It is worth noting that the purpose of Xu's book is different from the other women's histories in the past. *SZNZXS* targets at women's history instead of women's moral instruction. In the late Qing period (around 1890's onward), there was moral education (*xiushen* 修身) class in the girls' schools. The textbooks of conduct normally contain quotations of female virtues and role models from the Han to the Qing dynasty in China (from the 2nd century BCE to the 19th century CE) or even from overseas (Qu & Tang, eds., 2007: 585–586). [5]

However, Xu Tianxiao argues that some books on conduct like *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (*Biographies of Women*) is not a complete record of women or of history but some fragmented pieces of women's lives. It is just a collection of women's epitaphs and it has nothing to do with the development of the political situation. He criticized that this kind of books will further confine women's mind and body, make them weaker and more inferior, instead of encouraging their ambitions. This kind of books will not be able to develop women's spirits, but only help cultivating women's moral deeds (*SZNZXS*: Part I, "Jielun," 3).

Xu Tianxiao presented his ideas on "women's history" in his book. He claimed that those female conduct books in the past are only moral instructions, not books of historical writing (*lishi zhi ticai* 歷史之體裁) (*SZNZXS*: Part I, "Jielun," 2). In other words, in his mind, the "new history" means a book of women's history which is contrary to the "old history" that collects wise praises and exemplary conducts of women's virtue.

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[4] Shenzhou tushu press had textbooks but *SZNZXS* was not on the list of "advanced elementary history textbooks," see (*Minquan bao* 1913a: 1).

[5] Concerning research on women's education textbook in twentieth-century China, refer to (Judge 2000).

(ii) From Annals-Biographical Style Transforming to Chapter-Section Style

Not only is *SZNZXS* creative in context and purpose but also in writing style. Xu Tianxiao used an innovative writing style imported from Europe through Japan in the 1900s, i.e. the chapter-section style, instead of annals-biographical style in organizing his book.[6] In the first part of the book, there are four sections and each section contains three to four chapters, i.e.:

Section 1 Antiquity times 上古時代 (Chapter 1 Taigu 太古 Period [pre-history], Chapter 2 Xia-Shang Dynasty, Chapter 3 Zhou Dynasty);

Section 2 Medieval times 1 中古時代 (上) (Chapter 1 Qin Dynasty, Chapter 2 Han and Sanguo, Chapter 3 Jin Dynasty, Chapter 4 South and North Dynasty and Sui Dynasty);

Section 3 Medieval times 2 中古時代 (下) (Chapter 1 Tang Dynasty, Chapter 2 Wudai (Five dynasties), Chapter 3 Song Dynasty, Chapter 4 Yuan Dynasty);

Section 4 Pre-modern times 近古時代 (Chapter 1 Ming Dynasty)

The second part of the book is organized in the following manner:

Chapter 1 The Rebellion of Ming Citizens Period 明臣起義時代[7];

Chapter 2 The Building of Taiping Kingdom Period 太平建國時代;

Chapter 3 The Set-up of Republic of China Period 民國成立時代.

This organization of chapters shows his ideas on the development of history in lineal periodization.[8] In the early twentieth-century China, there was a "modernization turn" in Chinese historical writings,

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6   This writing style had influence on the writing of Chinese history textbooks. Xia Cengyou 夏曾佑 (1863-1924) used it to write his famous textbook *Zuixin zhongxue Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* 最新中學中國歷史教科書 (Xia 1904–1906).

7   It is a period of more than one hundred years and includes the Ming-Qing conflict, the southern Ming and Taiping Rebellion.

8   The western idea of linear periodization in historiography was passed to China from Japan and had strong effect on Chinese concepts of periodization and development. Refer to (Wang 2008: 49–58).

i.e. from writing **history of the dynasty to history of the nation**.
At the time, scholars tried to write history from the perspective of
the nation, which states collective history of the country instead of
individual behaviors (Yu 2008: 565–575). From this point of view,
Xu Tianxiao too used a new periodization frame and tried to write a
collective Chinese women's history in *SZNZXS*.

The timetable in this book also reveals his **racial idea**. In the
second part, he used "The Rebellion of Ming Citizens Period" rather
than "the late Ming and early Qing" since he wanted to show that the
Ming dynasty [Han Chinese] has not been terminated yet (*SZNZXS*:
Part 2, 33). He used "The Building of Taiping Kingdom Period" to
replace "the Qing dynasty" and "The Set-up of Republic of China
Period" to identify years of Guangxu 光緒 and Xuantong 宣統. This
all shows his anti-Manchurianism.

In *SZNZXS* (Part 1, 2), Xu Tianxiao described history from the
perspective of the female character Nüwa 女娲[9], rather than Pangu
盤古 or Sanhuang Wudi 三皇五帝, who normally took a leading
part in the Chinese history textbook in late Qing period (Zarrow
2007: 64–65). He organized his book in a chronological order and
collected one or two women's biographies in every section. He ended
each section with *nüshishi yue* 女史氏曰, which serves as *lunzan*
論贊 (the author's comments) in traditional Chinese history books.

3. Old Female Exemplars

In his book, Xu Tianxiao collected about 390 women in Chinese
history from ancient times to 1912. Eagerly keeping a record of
Chinese women in history, he sighed that in Chinese history there
were so many filial daughters, faithful women and heroines, etc., but
only few of them were recorded with their names. He thought it is a
shame that numerous heroines, who have died for the country, are not
known to the people, especially the brave, adventurous and patriotic
ones (*SZNZXS*: Part I, 109; Part II, 58).

Most of the Chinese women that Xu Tianxiao featured in his book
are still the old types of exemplars, such as wise mothers, chaste

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[9]   Nüwa is a goddess in ancient Chinese mythology, best known for creating
      mankind and repairing the pillars of heaven.

women and so on, which we would have already read in ancient books on conduct. However, there are two kinds of exemplary women he emphasized, those dying for propriety (*yilie* 義烈) and martial warriors (*wude* 武德). He encouraged women to devote their lives to the army like Hua Mulan 花木蘭 and Qin Liangyu 秦良玉. He claimed that female warriors are the pride of China, and that they would wash out the shame of Chinese women's weakness and dependence (*SZNZXS*: Part 1, 67).

If we compare the elite in the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century that invented a list of national hero images, dividing them into two types: fighting with foreign countries and promoting the pride of China (Shen 2000), Xu Tianxiao focused on all the martial heroines, not just the ones fighting with foreigners.[10] As Joan Judge points out, the two modes of female representations, which were most prevalent in biographical narratives in the late Qing women's journals, were **social heroines and martial warriors** (Judge 2007), Xu Tianxiao was also concerned with women who devoted themselves to the country.

It is worth noting that although Xu Tianxiao promoted some new modes of female exemplars, he still thought the most honorable deed of women is fidelity. He claimed that it is the glory of China:

> Since the West has influenced China, some young women misunderstand the spirit of liberty and despise the old morality. They are licentious and don't believe in themselves. They view divorce and remarriage as proper behavior and do not know what virtue is. (Xu 1980: 45–46)

Unlike some of the elite in Modern China commending "good wife and wise mother,"[11] Xu Tianxiao did not highlight them so much. Even though Xu Tianxiao tried to use women's history as an agent to encourage women to stand up and devote themselves to the

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[10] In the traditional *Lienü Zhuan*, there are only few women related to martial virtues. In the late Qing, the elite tried hard to dig out the images of Chinese women. Scholars have pointed out that heroine is a typical imagination of women in revolutionary movement. See (Ke 2004: 51–59).

[11] Regarding the discourse on "good wives and wise mothers" in Modern China, refer to (Chen 2005) and (Sudo 2007: chap. 4.2).

country, he still had the ideas of female evils that harmed the state (*SZNZXS*: Part I, 18), he claimed that the reason why Chinese became under Manchu barbarians' control is due to women's seduction of the leaders of the state (*SZNZXS*: Part II, 8).

Joan Judge classifies the women's exemplars in the early twentieth-century China in four modes from the perspective of source materials: eternalist, meliorist, archeomodern, and presentist (Judge 2008: 12–16).[12] Xu's book does not fit any of these modes. Though he praised filial daughters, chaste women, wise wives and good mothers, he did not reject new female virtue the way eternalists did. He is not a meliorist as he praised female chastity. He is not archeomodernist as he admired both western exemplary women (e.g. Louise Michel, Joan of Arc, Madame Roland, Queen Victoria, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sophia Perovskaya) and Chinese talented women (e.g., Ban Zhao 班昭 and Cai Wenji 蔡文姬). Furthermore, he did not appropriate western examples and despised Chinese women in the past like presentist.

To summarize, *SZNZXS* reveals that in the early 20th century, revolutionists tried **to rediscover Chinese women in the history to invent the tradition that fits their expectation of the "modern time."** It is a pity that this book was not so popular in early Republican China era.[13] In his *Zhongguo funü shenhuoshi*, Chen Dongyuan's 陳東原 (1902-1978) cited three paragraphs from *SZNZXS* in the section of reformation era (Chen 1994: 351–352, 355–356). *SZNZXS* is still underestimated now, not so visible as in the case of *Zhongguo funü shenhuoshi*.

4. Writing Women's History for National Revolution

Why did he want to write Chinese women's history during a tumultuous era? Xu Tianxiao put women's history into an anti-Manchu framework. His main point in *SZNZXS* is **to promote the**

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[12] Prasenjit Duara pointed out that in late Qing China, nationalists had a patriarchal attitude towards women's issue. The way of expression was to put women at the core of authenticity in a national linear historical narrative. In this mode, women are all timeless and look similar. Refer to (Duara 1998; 2000).

[13] Due to the shortage of sources, so far, we still don't know the reason why it was not popular.

glory of Han China and to advocate women's rights (*SZNZXS*: "Xu er" 2). The advertisement of the book says:

> Shenzhou has a long history. Four thousand years onwards, there are numerous famous men, who have left biographies for the posterity. But historians always ignored heroines or did not record details of their lives. (*Minquan bao* 1913b: 1).

He had the idea of Chinese superiority and took only Han ethnicity's history as Chinese history (*SZNZXS*: Part I, 143).[14] Therefore, his historical writing is based on the rise and fall of Han Chinese. He said: "the history of Manchurian invasion into the inner plains, occupying our Chinese Han land, and torturing us, is too much to tell." (*SZNZXS*: Part II, "Faduan" 2). He criticized that some women like the wife of Shen Baozhen 沈葆楨 "serving Man Qing, would get irony, due to their hurting country folks and not be treated as a great person from the nationalism point of view." (*SZNZXS*: Part II, 41). He also collected a lot of facts concerning the rebellions against Manchurian Qing (e.g. Qiu Jin 秋瑾, Zhang Zhujun 張竹君, etc.) to outthrust women's participation in the revolution.

In his book, Xu Tianxiao tried to **awaken women**. At the beginning of his book, he praised the new century and emphasized that the world was built by both men and women. He addressed that the 20th century is the time for women to be outstanding (*SZNZXS*: Part I, "Xulun" 1, 3). He encouraged women to be economically independent and politically active. For example, he seconded Tang Qunying 唐群英, Lin Zongsu's 林宗素 fighting for suffrage in a forceful way. Regarding the footbinding of Chinese women, he thought it is the disgrace of China. He appealed to stop it and correct the weakness and lack of independence of Chinese women (*SZNZXS*: Part II, 19).[15]

Chinese women's rights can be envisioned in four modes: (i) being the mother of the nation, (ii) paying the same duty as men, (iii) figuring out the new role, (iv) rejecting to be a female citizen

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[14] When rewriting Chinese history in late Qing China, the elite normally put citizens and China in the new frame of knowledge of race. Liang Qichao is a good example. Refer to (Zarrow 2006).

[15] Concerning the discourse on footbinding in early modern China, see (Ko 2005).

(Sudo 2005; 2007: chaps. 2–3). According to such a perspective, Xu Tianxiao's idea on women's rights is not "being the mother of the nation" but close to "paying the same duty as men." However, he did not overthrow the past of China and believed in new revolutionary feminist thoughts (Wang, Gao, & Liu 2005: 6).

Concluding Remarks

The most significant characteristics of *SZNZXS* are: (i) it fitted women's history into an anti-Manchu revolutionary historical framework; (ii) it challenged the traditional view that writing women's history is equal to a record of women's virtues, and its aim was enlightening women; (iii) it used a new chapter-section style of organization instead of a traditional annals-biographical style in writing. Therefore, the book offers insights into how literati used Chinese women's history as a medium to invoke revolutionary ideas, and thus allows us to review the role of women's history during the revolutionary era in the early twentieth-century China.

In summary, for the outer form of *SZNZXS* the author chose a new style, which is chapter-section style and new periodization, rather than using dynastic annals-biographical style in writing Chinese history, but in content, Xu still put women's facts into dynastic history frame instead of putting them at the center and telling "herstory." He also attached a commentary at the end of each section, making the book a combination of traditional and new historical writing.

From the perspective of Chinese women's movement, foreign affairs group, reformists or revolutionists, they were all concerned with women's issue and tried hard to find the cause of weakness of Modern China in it (Bao et al. 2000: 67). Xu tried to awaken Chinese women by writing Chinese women's history. His ideas on women's issues were close to revolutionists, and combined anti-Manchurian, fighting for the republican and promoting women rights (Ibid: 69). He attempted to compile the history of Chinese women to face the new road of the 20th century, and he showed his anxiety on the national crisis. This is similar to most of revolutionists in the late Qing, who appropriated civil rights as women's rights while doing propaganda (Ke 2004: 39, 67). However, Xu Tianxiao considered gender issues.

This case study makes us rethink the revolution of "New Historiography" in twentieth-century China (新史學革命) by Liang Qichao 梁啟超. Liang suggested writing history for the people not for the emperors. By the time he promoted women's rights, but never thought of writing Chinese women into history. In other words, Xu's book was not only a product of Republican revolution and women's movement but also a pioneering work in the new historiography of Modern China.

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Философия и религия
Philosophy and Religion

Синдромът Zheng в китайската традиционна медицина

Денка Маринова

Abstract

Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) is an ancient medical system based on the integrity of the human organism and its interrelation with nature. As a basic concept in TCM, syndrome Zheng represents the overall physiological or pathological model of the human body in response to an internal or external state, which is usually an abstraction of internal disharmony, defined by an indepth analysis of clinical information based on clinical symptoms and syndromes gathered from the core diagnostic methods of TCM: observation, auscultation, anamnesis, and pulse analyses. Correct identification of Zheng syndrome is essential for the diagnosis and treatment of diseases. Currently, the diagnosis of syndrome Zheng is integrated with biomedical diagnostics in clinical practice, and integrative medicine is emerging as an optimal approach to achieving greater efficacy in healing practice.

Keywords: Zheng, Traditional Chinese Medicine, syndrome, observation

Китайска традиционна медицина (КТМ) е съществена част от здравеопазването в Китай и се счита за алтернативна медицинска система в повечето западни страни (Jiang 2010: 634–642). КТМ е система от древни медицински практики, която подчертава целостта на човешкото тяло и взаимовръзката му с природата. Като основна концепция в КТМ, Zheng （证 Джън) обозначава синдром, който е цялостен физиологичен или патологичен модел на човешкото тяло в отговор на дадено вътрешно или външно състояние, което обикновено е абстракция на вътрешната дисхармония, дефинирана от изчерпателен анализ на клиничните симптоми и признаци (Cheung 2011: 82–83). Zheng обединява симптомите и признаците от клинични прояви, които отразяват същността на патологичните промени на определен етап от възникването и развитието на болестта. Той има важна

роля в разбирането на човешката хомеостаза и определя лечението на заболяванията.

Диференцирането на Zheng е една от най-важните концепции в практиката на КТМ, която се различава съществено от диагностичните методи, използвани в западната медицинска практика. В КТМ това е процесът на изчерпателен анализ на клиничната информация, получена от четирите основни диагностични методи: оглед, аускултация, анамнеза и пулсова диагностика. Тези методи на диагностика се прилагат, за да се определи избора на лечение с методите на КТМ, най-често това са акупунктура или билкови препарати, т. нар. Fufang (Фуфан). По този начин пълният процес на лечение в КТМ е известен като Bianzheng Lun Zhi (Биен Джън Луън Джъ), т.е „лечение на базата на синдромна диференциация" (Jiang 2012: 9–10).

Съвременните тенденции са насочени към интегриране на синдрома Zheng с модерната медицинската диагностика в клиничната практика. Установено е, че един пациент може да страда от две или повече заболявания едновременно и едно заболяване може се да манифестира от два или повече синдрома. По същия начин при един пациент може да се наблюдават два или повече синдрома и един синдром може да бъде наблюдаван при различни заболявания. Освен това диференциацията на синдрома Zheng е динамична и един синдром може да бъде променен след лечението с методите и средствата на КТМ, съгласно предишния диагностичен модел (симптоми, признаци, вид на езика или пулса).

Синдромът Zheng не е просто съвкупност от множество симптоми на заболявания, а организация на взаимосвързани клинични прояви, следващи теорията на КТМ. При диагностициране на синдрома Zheng е необходимо да се анализират взаимовръзките между симптомите и признаците на заболяванията, използвайки подходящи статистически инструменти за по-добро разбиране класификацията на. Zheng. Диалектиката е в процеса на разбиране на болестта, за което е необходимо да се събере цялата информация, свързана с нея; да се идентифицират причините, водещи до нейната поява, както и локализацията на настъпилите патологични промени; да се отчетат тенденциите в

развитието на заболяването и накрая да се обобщят процесите, настъпващи в същността на синдромите (Bell, 2002: 133–140).

Диагностичните и терапевтичните методи в практиката на КТМ се основават на диференциация на синдрома Zheng и тази концепция се използва от хилядолетия в Китай (Dai 2012: 55–54). Правилното диференциране на синдрома Zheng в КТМ е най-важният принцип, който ръководи предписването на китайски билкови формули и прилагането на акупунктурата.

За да се улесни разработването и прилагането на синдрома Zheng, от съществено значение са научните доказателства за диференциация на Zheng. Такива доказателства са от полза за разбирането на същността на синдрома Zheng. Доказателствата, т.е. синдромите на болестния процес, са етапи или видове патологични състояния, обикновено от група с относително фиксирани и характерни за вътрешните връзки маркери, които могат да разкрият определен стадий на развитие на заболяване или определен вид симптоми и признаци, и са проява на патология в тялото. Синдромът е външното отражение на патогенезата на заболяване, а патогенезата е присъщата природа на синдромите. Диференцирането на синдрома Zheng, ако бъде прието като диагностичен метод за голяма част от съвременните изследвания, би довело до нови медицински научни открития. Преимуществата на интегрирането на синдрома Zheng със съвременното диагностициране на заболяванията са подчертани през последните години и в тази област се установяват значими постижения.

Съгласно постулатите на западната медицина заболяванията са патологични състояния, които засягат част или цялото човешко тяло и често се тълкуват като състояния, свързани със специфични симптоми. За разлика от нея, Zheng излага една различна концепция на заболяванията и обхваща всички симптоми, които пациентът притежава (Lu, 2004: 1854–56). Заради силно взаимосвързаната природа на човешкия организъм е трудно да се изследват различни заболявания на молекулярно ниво, които са напълно независими едно от друго. Този въпрос се отнася и за синдрома Zheng, защото клиничната картина се променя динамично, наблюдава се припокриване на симптоми заради многоизмеримата човешка природа, което прави нещата трудни за

разбиране на биологично ниво. Биологичният подход се прилага за изследване с разлики между различни синдроми Zheng и за идентифициране на нови биомаркери. Например, пациенти с ревматоиден артрит, диференцирани на базата на „горещ" или „студен" синдром Zheng, са показали, че са свързани с различни геномни и метаболомни профили, като групата, която се характеризира с „горещ" синдром, е показала повече апоптотична активност от „студената" група (Wietmarschen 2004: 330–4).

Диференцирането на специфичен Zheng синдром във всеки етап от заболяването би могло да предостави ценно ръководство за предписване на динамично терапевтично лечение. С помощта на моделиране на динамична мрежа от връзки може да се концептуализира процеса на заболяването като пространствено-временни промени във връзка със синдрома Zheng (Li 2011: 36–38).

Подходящи модели за изследване на наблюдавани синдроми при пациенти и по-късен анализ на устойчивостта и топологията могат да помогнат за разкриване на потенциално свързани с болестта генетични изменения. Всъщност тази стратегия може да се разглежда като скринингов подход, предназначен да насочи към медикаменти от естествени продукти, повлияващи ефикасно свързаните с тях заболявания. В действителност тази нова стратегия вече успешно се прилага при изследвания на кръвта, където се идентифицират активните съединения на лечебни растения, които стимулират функцията на сърцето и кръвта при дефицит на Qi (Ци) и Xue (Сюе) (Lu, 2012: 549–556) Втората стратегия на лечение, която прилага диференциацията на Zheng, се състои от процес на цялостна оценка на системата на лечение, започвайки с билки или билкови формули и завършвайки с диферинциация на синдрома Zheng. Този процес включва първоначалното събиране и класификация на билкови медикаменти; скрининг, екскретиране и токсичност на билковите препарати, оценка ефективността на прицелното лекарство, анализиране на взаимовръзките и накрая идентифициране на синдромите Zheng при заболяванията които подлежат на лечение (Lin, 2012: 9–10).

Един особено ярък пример е систематичният анализ на синдрома на кръвна стаза и синдрома на недостатъчност на енергията qi (ци) в коронарните съдове и билкови лекарства, използвани за

лечение на тези синдроми. Резултатите показват, че лекарствените растения, използвани за отстраняване на кръвната стаза, имат фармакологична активност, която действа за разширяване на кръвоносните съдове, подобряване на микроциркулацията, намаляване вискозитета на кръвта и регулиране на кръвните липиди. Използваните билки имат потенциал за повишаване на енергийния метаболизъм и противовъзпалителната активност (Zhou, W. et al., 2014).

Напоследък многократно се увеличиха проучванията върху синдрома Zheng. В текстови анализ на Keji (2003) върху Zheng се посочва, че са открити 275 408 китайски изследвания в базата данни SinoMed и 28 103 английски изследвания в базата данни на PubMed. Увеличаването на броя на проучванията на синдрома Zheng се осъществява във връзка с напредъка в биомедицинските технологии и аналитичните методи на изследване. Развитието на биологията позволи прилагането на нови фенотипни технологии в изследването на диференциацията на синдрома Zheng с правдоподобни биологични интерпретации. Разбирането на характерните промени в биохимията на организма, свързани със специфичен Zheng синдром, ще улесни идентификацията на синдромите, както и ще създаде нов подход в диагностиката и стратификацията на заболяванията, което потенциално ще доведе до персонализирани стратегии за лечение на редица заболявания, които нямат терапевтични решения (Yu, 2012: 8–11).

Разделянето на Zheng синдрома може да бъде използвано за по-нататъшно стратифициране на състоянието на пациенти с определена болест, идентифицирана чрез конвенционалната медицина, което може да спомогне за подобряване на ефикасността на избраната терапия. В съвременните изследвания на КТМ е възможно интегрирането на диференциацията на синдрома с конвенционалната медицинска диагноза, с което биха се постигнали нови научни открития в цялостната медицинска диагностика и лечение (Jiang 2012: 9–10). Напоследък някои клинични изследвания са фокусирани върху по-добрата ефективност на лечението с КТМ въз основа на Zheng синдрома.

В проучване на Li et al. (2012) се установява, че въз основа на лечение на синдрома Zheng с гранулите Bu-Fei Jian-Pi, Bu-Fei

Yi-Shen и Yi-Qi Zi-Shen се постига благоприятен ефект върху измерените резултати при пациенти с хронична обструктивна белодробна болест по време на шестмесечното лечение и 12-месечно проследяване. Yu (2012) провежда рандомизирано контролирано проучване, с което сравнява резултатите от лечението на пациенти с Алцхаймер, лекувани с медикаменти на западната медицина, с резултатите на пациентите, лекувани с китайска традиционна медицина въз основа на диференциацията на синдрома Zheng. Целта на проучването е да се определи кое лечение е по-ефективно за подобряване на когнитивните функции при изследваните пациенти. Статистически резултатите са в полза на китайските методи на лечение.

Pan (2011) съобщава за лечение въз основа на диференциация на синдрома Zheng при пациенти с херпес зостер. На пациентите е приложена комбинирана терапия, включваща акупунктура и билкова терапия. Установява се, че приложеното лечение е с голяма ефективност при наблюдаваните пациенти с постхерпетична невропатия. В друго клинично проучване, проведено от Tao et al (2010), се съобщава за увеличаване на преживяемостта на пациенти с колоректален онкологичен процес II или III стадий в напреднала възраст при използване на Zheng синдрома.

Освен това исторически Zheng е използван като основен патологичен принцип за назначаване на билкови формули при лечение на различни заболявания. Добре известни са билковите рецепти Liu Wei Di Huang Wan и Jin Kui Shen Qi Wan, които често са били използвани за клиничното лечение на Zheng разстройства.

Извличането на данни за диференциацията на Zheng се извършва въз основа на симптомите и признаците от клиничната информация, използвайки соматоскопия (Zhang 2008: 159–161), ентропията на Shannon (Chen 2010: 80–84), правилата за асоцииране (Wang 2009: 15–17), взаимната информация и максимална съвместимост на данните (Liu 2012: 53–55), факторния анализ (Wang 2009: 15–17), метода на клъстера за динамичен корелационен коефициент (Liu 2007: 100–102) и други методи.

В последните години с развитието на иновативните медицински технологии се създаде системата Omics, която включва изследвания като геномика, транскриптомика, протеомика

и метаболомика (Hood, 2004: 640–643). Целите на биоинфор-
матиката са насочени към създаванена на алгоритми, методи и
софтуерни решения за анализ, управление и разпространение на
данни и резултати от Omics технологията. Геномиката показва
какво може да се случи; транскриптомиката показва какво ще
се случи; протеомиката показва какво се е случило; метабоно-
миката показва какво се е случило в метаболизма на болния
(German 2004: 29–32). Използването на високите технологии в
медико-биологическите изследвания дава възможност да се из-
следва синдрома Zheng, особено по отношение на геномите на
човека и обкръжаващата ни жива природа (Su 2011: 46–48).

В заключение можем да кажем, че изследванията, свързани с
диференциацията на Zheng синдрома в КТМ, ще дадат възмож-
ност за точна диагностика при различни заболявания и тяхното
правилно лечение с билкови медикаменти и акупунктура. Ди-
ференцирането на Zheng синдрома в диагностиката на заболя-
ванията ще доведе до нова ера в развитието на медицинските
науки по-отношение на клиничните проучвания и откриването
на нови медикаменти в КТМ. Това изисква мултидисциплинар-
но сътрудничество между различни професионалисти, изследо-
ватели и учени, както от конвенционалната медицина, така и от
специалистите в КТМ с опит в биомедицинските, биоинформа-
ционните и фармацевтичните дисциплини.

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Classical Daoist Thought and Chinese Influence in accordance with the concept 'All-under-Heaven' (Tianxia)

Dessislava Damyanova

Abstract

Daoism emerged as a complex phenomenon – a kind of counterpoint to the traditional philosophical thought (Confucianism). It was the culprit for the formation of a 'Sino-centric' worldview in the Far-East region. In later centuries it developed as a communal religious system and was integrated into the popular folk beliefs. Whereas Confucianism and Buddhism left behind many historical records, the only recorded information, concerning Daoism in East-Asian countries other than China, is scarce and fragmented. Because of this lack of written sources, local Daoism was incapable of spreading as a mere philosophy. However, that is not to say that the ideas of Zhuangzi had not influenced Korea, Japan, Vietnam etc. The term 'Daoist' in Korea is connected with: 1) the works of Zhuangzi, Laozi and Liezi that have been known there at least since the Koryo period, but after 1392 have been regarded as dissident; 2) an organized religion since king Yongryu received Daoist missionaries from Tang in 624 and established their cult as a restricted band for the elite; 3) almost anything in Far-East culture that is not clearly Buddhist or Confucian in the history of popular belief.

Keywords: Zhuangzi, Daoism, Dao-culture, San-Shin, the Way in the Three Kingdoms, taiji, East-Asian lifestyle

Daoist philosophy and religion have found their way into all East Asian cultures that were influenced by China, especially those of Vietnam, Japan, and Korea. Various religious practices reminiscent of Daoism in such areas of Chinese cultural influence indicate early contacts with Chinese travelers and immigrants that have yet to be elucidated. There has been a continuous mutual influence between Daoists of different countries and social strata – philosophers, ascetics, alchemists, and the priests of popular cults. Dao-culture was addressed to an audience with sophisticated tastes:

it infused Daoist practices with elements of literary traditions and poetic landscapes of heavens.[1]

Concerning the concept 'all-under-Heaven', an important aspect of Chinese politics and cosmology was the asymmetrical relationship between the "above" and the "below", the 'inside' and 'outside'. In the Chinese world, "verticality" is a major organizing principle of society – the kings and sons of Heaven envisaged their own dwelling as the center of the world. As Zhuangzi said long ago, "If there is no other, there will be no I" (Fung 1989:41). *Tianxia*, the virtue of heavenly polity, means that being the "other", affects the "I" in different ways corresponding to the variety of world conceptions. The Celestial Empire gained its identity through the conceptualized terms of the so called 'natural' hierarchy.[2]

The Chinese philosophical text *Zhuangzi* was written in part by a man named Zhuang Zhou in the late fourth century B.C. Amazing stories in the book reveal the mundane situation of the so called narrow-minded men in correlation to the sage wandering 'in the clouds' above ordinary affairs of life. With humor and relentless logic Zhuangzi attacks peremptory assertions about the world, especially evaluative knowledge of what is good and bad or right and wrong.[3] Setting its arguments in beautiful prose and poetry, the text is gaining recognition as one of the classics of world literature. Despite

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[1] Therefore the distinction between philosophical (*daojiao*) and religious (*daojia*) Daoism is artificial and is made only for the sake of descriptive convenience.

[2] In their view of the universe, ancient Daoist cosmologists made the distinctions between order and chaos in more relative and flexible terms, for the purpose of forging mutual relations out of contrary oppositions.

[3] The satirical approach is extensively used in the *Zhuangzi* often in order to imagine a way of life that is depicted in the parables and anecdotes. The symbolism of the edifying stories and dialogues can be summed up in the mentorship of the great and venerable master as an ideal personal relationship, which excludes the kings, heroes, etc. on the basis of the mainstream values of these characters. On the other side, as long as you are willing for utilitarian benefits, such an orientation can be described as disturbing the intimate clarity and spontaneity of the pure mind. Following this direction, we might notice that "if the success is once awakened to take place for individual purposes, then even the entire country etiquette becomes a talisman of power violating the longstanding morals." (Wu Kuang-ming 1982, 123)

the slightly skeptical tone[4], Zhuangzi himself does not think that our situation is utterly hopeless, since at the very least we are better off aware of our ignorance.

Zhuangzi's uncompromising rejection of power makes him avoid any collective social gestures that bring plenty of frustration and lead to overall disappointment of the political experience. In contrast to Confucius, he talked of some monarchs and officials as 'nothing between Heaven and Earth to escape' to remind us how difficult is to survive surrounded by insidious maneuvers, mortal threats and diplomatic rumors. Therefore, the *Zhuangzi*, unlike the *Laozi* refused any political suggestions principally not because of intellectual reasons, but as a question of position. Resisting any governance, his stance is basically not to politicize – the so-called *non-action* (*wu wei* – 无为）of the *Road/Way* (*Dao* – 道）.

There is a basic questioning about self-belief in the *Zhuangzi*: self-consciousness is the realization of life's most fundamental sense, so Zhuang Zhou claims that in the universal interrelation no new idea is impossible.[5] The result of the Daoist perfection is perplexing: not only with the quest for immorality defying the common sense, but with a relativistic attitude towards morality threatening serious ethical rules. Taking into account its inconsistency, we have to mention that the important theoretical and practical implications of

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[4]   Some analyzers of the treatise address the question of how he manages to sustain a positive moral vision in the face of this seemingly indiscriminate skepticism. In order to pinpoint more exactly what he doubts and why, Zhuangzi is compared to the Greek philosophers Plato and to Sextus Empiricus. His views on language and the role that it plays in shaping the reality we perceive are also examined at length. Other authors test the application of Zhuangzi's ideas to contemporary debates in critical theory and to issues in moral philosophical thought such as the establishment of equal worth and the implications of ethical relativism. They also explore the religious and spiritual dimensions of the text and clarify the relation between Daoism and Buddhism.

[5]   According to the second chapter – 'Equality of Things' (齐物论) – everyone has the inherent right of self-certainty in his own experience, but to face the prospect of death is one of the most difficult personal challenges. Similarly, outside the daily life perspective, those with good physique may be disabled more than those living a healthy life if the selection criterion is the 'usefulness of the useless ones', achieving peace and longevity.

Daoism should not be confined to the lack of political activity and everyday conformism. There is an implicit invocation in *Daodejing* to become more cautious with the traditional values opposing the freedom of genuine ideas and behavior.

Daoists convey their insights in different images and vivid parables. The sage's ecstatic oneness is a "moving together with the Dao; dispersing and concentrating, his appearance has no consistency"[6] – united with the constant Dao, his form becomes one of ungraspable change. Concerning the creation, Zhuangzi uses a craftsman metaphor – the image of the potter and the bronze caster – "to shape and to transform" (*zaohua*). These are two phases of the same process: the imperceptible activity of Dao which continuously makes patterns out of primordial chaos. The perpetual transformation of the cosmos is nothing but the external aspect of the same Dao, generating the alternations of *yin* and *yang*[7] – the complementary aspects of its 'life breath' (the *qi* energy). [8]

Because the divinities can become perceptible only by adapting to the mode of this changing world, their apparitions are "transformations" (*bianhua*); and the magician (*huaren*) is believed to be one who transforms rather than one who conjures out of nothing. The ecstasies of the Daoist mystics were closely related to the trances and spirit journeys of the early diviners – *fangshi* (religious personages with healing powers and psychic transformation abilities). "The mystic insight of Zhuangzi made him scorn those who strove

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[6] The quotations from Zhuangzi are based on our own translation, following Sofia Katurova's interpretation.

[7] *Yin* and *yang* - the "dark side" and "sunny side" of a mountain (symbolizing night and day, or winter and summer), mentioned for the first time in the *Xice*, or "Appended Explanations", from 4th century BCE (an appendix to the *Yijing* - Book of Changes): "A succession of yin and yang is called the Dao." Yin and yang are complementary, interdependent phases alternating in space and time; they underlie the harmonious interplay of all pairs of opposites in the cosmos. First the concept of yin and yang was accepted by musicians, astronomers, or diviners and then propagated by a school that came to be named after them. Afterwards this theory became the pivot of all Chinese philosophy.

[8] The shaping of the ten thousand things by the Supreme Unity and their transformation (*wanwu hua*) by yin and yang are both simultaneous and perpetual.

for longevity and immortality through physiological practices."[9] Wherever Zhuangzi speaks of the God-like men, the theme is getting on the spiritual wandering (*yuanyou*), which can be traced back to the shamanistic soul journey involving a Daoist flight to various places on Earth and in Heaven.

Immortality was a strongly desired goal alongside the unfolding of Daoist mysticism. Zhuangzi compares the sage's immortality with the infinity of cosmic processes above the ordinary cycle of life and death. Adepts of this practice may choose between many methods intended to restore the pure *qi* energy given by birth and to regain the status of infants with perfect vital force, praised by Laozi. Through these methods, they are believed to become immortals (*xian*) and live 1000 years in this world if they want. When satiated with life, by their own will, they "ascend to heaven in broad daylight." This is the final apotheosis of those practitioners who transform their bodies into pure yang energy.

According to some scholars,[10] an original form of Daoist culture was shared between ancient Korea and China – shamanism and mountain worship[11] have flourished in both countries. Local Daoism includes an ancient and authentic component, but it has grown into a system with completely new dimensions when the organized teaching was transmitted from Tang China. The indigenous and the introduced elements ultimately merged into an entirely new form of Daoism with both similar and disparate characteristics to the Chinese school of Dao (*daojia* – 道家).

Much of what is seen in the ceremonies of shamanism represents a deep affinity with the Universe and is actually nature-

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[9] Daoism. Chinese Philosophy and Religion <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Daoism>27.09.2017

[10] Korean Daoism is comprised of "key elements of indigenous ideas and practices similar to those of Chinese Daoism and originally part of Korean culture. These elements were then fused with, and formalized under the influence of the systems and doctrines of Chinese Daoism later transmitted to Korea." Cf. Jung, 1994 in Jung Jae-Seo: 2000, 794-5.

[11] Historically animism and the ritual complex, called *San-Shin* existed on the Korean peninsula before the arrival of other spiritual and philosophical movements. The archetype of *San-Shin* (Mountain spirit) underlay all Korean thought, artistic and daily life.

acknowledgment and respect for the principles that govern our world. The local Daoist complex cultivated animistic Earth's forces: human or natural forms – its figurative language was created by observing life, with shared images used to describe the energy of a particular area or phenomenon. The stories of *Dangun* and the myths concerning the founding of the country are doubtlessly influenced by tales of immortality, immanently connected with ancient Dao-culture. The Korean *kukson* – national immortals – used to be 'free and easy wandering' recluses, much similar to the Chinese great sages, described in the *Zhuangzi*.

Zhuangzi's allusions to the indescribable Dao are invariably poetic and the same can be said about his references to those who have attained union with the universe. Perfected persons (*zhi ren*) totally identify their life rhythms with the forces of nature and become indistinguishable from the universal transformations. They are "pure spirit. They feel neither the heat of the brushlands afire, nor the cold of the waters in flood"; nothing can frighten them. They are not magically invulnerable (as the adepts of physical immortality would have it), but they are "so cautious in shunning and approaching, that nothing can do them injury." "Persons like this ride the clouds as their carriages and the sun and moon as their steeds."[12]

As Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism were introduced to Korea, each was slowly incorporated into the native shamanistic practice and culture, creating a new syncretic spiritual trend.[13] While many modern countries were abandoning their inherent, indigenous ways of life Korea, like China, continued to embrace its innate wisdom. In tracing the development of the *Dao*-culture in Korea, we may divide its evolution into three stages and then analyze them in further details: 1) the local shamanism, called *San-Shin*, to some extend still practiced today; 2) the arrival of Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism from the mainland, which have affected all manners of intellectual, mental and aesthetic life; 3) the individual

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[12] Daoism. Chinese Philosophy and Religion <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Daoism>27.09.2017

[13] Koreans were open-minded and accepted any foreign thoughtways that harmonized well with their primordial ideas and ancestral cult and this has kept the *San-Shin* ideals alive even up into the 21th century.

characteristics of the *Way/Road* in Korean philosophy as an amalgam from traditional and for the most part borrowed influences.[14]

Daoism within Korea, unlike Buddhism and Confucianism, or the Chinese Daoist schools, failed to grow as an autonomous religious denomination or cultural phenomenon. As it is well known[15], Daoism first arrived in Korea in 624 A.D. Its popularity in China led the *Tang* Monarch, Gaozu, to send a Daoist preacher to the *Koguryo* Kingdom along with appropriate literature: the texts ascribed to Laozi and Zhuangzi. Korean historical documents show that the instructions of *Daodejing*, *Liezi* and *Zhuangzi* were welcomed and eagerly scrutinized by one of the Three Kingdoms[16], *Koguryo* Court, in early

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[14] Through the foundation of an institutionalized Daoist structure, the theoretical and the practical implications of Chinese Dao-doctrines became the object of disciplined study and scholarship among *Koryo* and *Choson* intellectuals. "Ever since the seventh century, Korean Daoism has been influenced by Chinese Daoism in its organization and doctrine, and has grown substantially richer in its structure and scholarship. The Koryo and Choson dynasties established national Daoist temples, such as the Bokwon gung (Palace of Original Happiness) and the Sogyok so (Bureau of Brilliant Investigation)." (Jung Jae-Seo, 2000: 793)

[15] All traditional scholars base their theories about the origin of Daoism in Korea on the *Samguk sagi* (*Records of the Three Kingdoms*) – the most ancient Korean written document. The critical researchers assume that the official chronicles refer only to the establishment of an organized Daoist ordination system in Korea, not diminishing the preceding indigenous Dao-culture, which the Tang dynasty's missionary activity expanded and systematized. They examine the primordial Daoist legends, mountain-spirit cults and tales of immortality, already present in Korea before the arrival of Gaozu's envoys. "Lee Nunghwa, the founding father of modern Korean Daoist studies, compared the ancient Korean beliefs in three divinities, Hwanin, Hwanwung and Dangun, with Chinese myths about the sacred mountains Penglai, Fangzhang and Yingzhou, and proposed that immortality cults in Yan and Qi came, contrary to the common view, from an ancient Korean range of indigenous beliefs surrounding the sacred Mount Baekdu, the Chanbai shan of the Chinese." (Jung Jae-Seo: 2000, 794)

[16] The *Three Kingdoms* denotes the kingdoms of *Koguryo* in the north, *Baekje* in the southwest, and *Shilla* in the southeast. Data from the kingdom of *Koguryo* (37 B.C.E. – 668 C.E.), predating the formal transmission of Chinese Daoism in the seventh century reveals that there was a preexisting Daoist culture in Korea. In the same time, in a later edition of the *Samguk sagi* there is a record that *Celestial Masters Daoism*, then called *the Five Pecks of Rice* sect was popular in *Koguryo* at the beginning of the seventh century, suggesting that this form of Daoism was transmitted to Korea by the northern *Celestial Masters*. (Jung Jae-Seo: 2000, 795)

7th century A.D.[17] Daoism was imported for the political purpose to restrain the power of *Koguryo* Buddhism – the promotion of the new Chinese cult, mixed with indigenous shamanistic elements, served as a barrier to the Buddhist expansion in Korea.

Confucianism had no need to participate in the competition between Daoism and Buddhism for most influential teaching in China, because it had state patronage. This rivalry resulted in mutual borrowings, numerous superficial similarities, and essentially Chinese developments, such as *Chan* (Japanese Zen). From Song dynasty on (960–1279) Daoist and Buddhist elements have coexisted in folk religion, without clear distinctions in the minds of the worshippers. The predominant and influential philosophies in Korea used to be Confucianism and Buddhism, rather than Daoism; however, although never at the core of Korean history, it has always existed as an underlying presence.

Whereas the first two schools of thought and religious systems left behind a myriad of historical records, the Daoist teaching did not – the only recorded information that remains is exiguous and fragmentary. In the *Baekje* Kingdom (18 B.C. – 660 A.D.), another one of the Three Kingdoms, Chinese Daoism did not have the same effect as in the *Koguryo* Court. The philosophy was only briefly introduced and was merely a passing vogue; nevertheless the thoughts of Laozi and Zhuangzi had some influence through syncretic treatises linking it to Buddhism and Confucianism. It was the ruler's hope that the religious ideals of Buddhism as well as Daoism and the Confucian morality would help for unification of the warring clans on the peninsula and the royal support of Daoism was just an extension of this trend.

Of the Three Kingdoms, the *Shilla* Kingdom left the most substantial Daoist legacy – it received *Daodejing* in 738 A.D. from the Tang Monarchy. As a result, *Shilla* scholars went to China in order to study Daoism – *Daodejing* began to be used in civil service examinations, which led to a popularization of the *Laozi* among the public. The characteristic of *Shilla* Daoism was its concentration

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[17]   This enthusiasm can be seen in the fact that the Daoist preacher spoke on the philosophy of Laozi and Zhuangzi in lectures that were attended by the *Koguryo* monarch and his ministers.

on the practice and training of one's mind or self discipline – its most distinctive mark can be found in the rule of the *Hwarang*[18] – the rigorous disciplinary aspect dominated *Shilla* Daoist teaching. The concept 'three-in-one' designates the pursuit of personal self-cultivation on the one hand (inner alchemy), and work the for the benefit of all mankind, on the other.

The *Choson* (1392–1910) society was predominantly set by Neo-Confucianism as a state religion but it was not accepted by the common people. King Taejong rejected the installation of state worship of the *Great One* (*Tai'i* – 太一), which would result in giving offerings to the Great Lord of Heaven, thus sacrificing the national Korean gods. Meanwhile, at least at the start of the *Choson* dynasty, Daoist literature was quite popular among Korean intellectual groups.[19] Regardless of the undeniable divergence between Confucianism and Daoism, there was a growing opposition from the main Confucian faction against the latter, and Daoism began to be perceived as 'heretical'.[20]

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[18] An elite armed force of *Shilla* – the so called Elite Youth Corps (*Hwarang do*) – noted for its disciplined composure, simplicity, relaxation and harmony: each a component of philosophical Daoism. The training of the Elite Youth Corps of *Shilla* included physical exercises, martial arts and self-discipline in ethics, morality and spirituality.

[19] They published and produced various pieces of literature as a result of a kind of academic research on Daoism, predominantly from a Confucian perspective.

[20] The dominant direction of Korean Daoism in the *Choson* dynasty shifted from being national and disciplined to private and experimental alchemical studies – the *Chonghak jip* (Collection of Master Blue Crane) and Hong Manjong's *Haedong yijok* (Record of Eastern Sea Immortals) can be seen as examples of this trend. Subsequently the number of practitioners of *Choson* Daoism was drastically reduced and the volume of Daoism was cut hugely; eventually, when the Japanese Invasion took place in 1592, *Choson* Daoism was systematically abolished. Since that time until the present day, Korean Daoist teaching has been marginalized not only by the Korean Royal Court, Confucians and Buddhists, but also by society as a whole. The devastation that official Daoism suffered during the *Choson* dynasty led to the formation of less official centers, where Daoist masters conducted studies and experiments in inner alchemy, collectively known as *Danhak pa*. They can be traced back to the *Koryo* period, when groups of independent intellectuals had practiced Daoist methods in private, away from the organized or national Daoism

The *Choson* intellectuals were deeply interested in *Lao-Zhuang* Daoism – they tried to establish their own interpretation of the *Daodejing*, the *Zhuangzi* thought and Daoist immortality scriptures as a genuine textual criticism from a metaphysical standpoint. Kwon Kukjung, the great master of late-*Choson* inner alchemy, introduced a systematic *neidan* philosophy in his Commentary to the *Cantong qi*[21] including a complete ontology, theory of human nature, system of alchemical practice and doctrine of immortality. His followers established the original trend of their time to submit objects of scholarship to analysis and research from a Daoist perspective along with detailed discussions of Dao as an exposition of its essence. [22]

From the mid-*Choson* the organized Daoism went into decline, superseded by popular cults and practices. But scholars such as Jung Ryom advocated the traditional worldview of an integrated, harmonized Daoist doctrine merged with Confucianism and Buddhism. Kwon Kukjung claimed that Daoism and Buddhism came from the same origin and that the immortality pursued by the alchemists was equivalent to the highest realm of Buddhist salvation. According to his theory the aim of the inner alchemy, as well as in Buddhism, was the returning to the *Great Supreme* (*taiji* － 太极), attaining a state beyond life and death. For him *Chan* meditation and the Daoist *Neidan* cultivation were complementary paths to spiritual

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[21] The *Cantong qi* is deemed to be the earliest book on alchemy in China – the title has been variously translated as *Kinship of the Three*, *Akinness of the Three*, *Triplex Unity*, *The Seal of the Unity of the Three*, and in several other ways. The full title of the text is *Zhouyi cantong qi*, which can be translated as *The Kinship of the Three*, *in Accordance with the Book of Changes*. According to a well-established traditional view, the text was composed by Wei Boyang in the mid-second century A.D., and deals entirely with alchemy – in particular, with *Neidan*, or Internal Alchemy. Besides this one, there has been, within the Daoist tradition, a second way of reading the text: in agreement with its title, the *Cantong qi* is concerned not with one, but with three major subjects, namely cosmology (the system of the *Book of Changes*), *Daoism* (the way of 'non-doing'), and alchemy, rejoining them to one another into a single doctrine.

[22] Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries Korean Dao-teaching developed a harmonious view of the world of human affairs and a cosmology based on the supreme god, who coexisted with many local and foreign deities.

releasement, seen as methods of both physical cultivation and mental enlightenment.[23]

With such a historical framework, today the Dao influence throughout East Asia is quite insignificant. A clear instance of the effect of Daoism among Koreans, Japanese, etc. is the pursuit of good fortune and long-life, a part of Daoist religion rather than philosophy. Moreover it affected the lives of everyday people in other ways, including geomancy, fortune-telling, prognostication and folk literature.[24] Religious Daoism flourished briefly, but mainly within the Royal Court as a means of rite and ceremony, and not so much as an abstract theory. Popular Daoist cultural forms have existed mainly in practices of shamanism and animism – *Sin-Sun Sasang* and the ritualistic tradition known as *onmyōdō*.[25]

In the end, we have to admit that the cultural development of the Far East region – its spirituality, art and way of life – were all dramatically impacted by a mixture of Daoist, Confucian and Buddhist thought with a traditional shamanistic base. Any discussion of the intellectual milieu of East Asian countries must include Korea and from this perspective the importance of Daoism in comparison to Confucianism and Buddhism is relatively latent in the local consciousness. It is undeveloped as a system of ordination and yet Daoist theory and practice dominated the internal aspects of local culture. As it was demonstrated above, some scholars believe that Daoism was not imported from China at one particular time, but is an intrinsically Korean tradition that shares characteristics with Chinese Daoism.

The same can be also said for much of the other countries in the region. Prior to its transmission to Japan, there existed an indigenous form of worship similar to the Daoist rituals and beliefs in Early

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[23] Kwon Kukjung persisted in the pursuit of a syncretic and holistic teaching and practice for the refinement for the *qi* handed down from ancient Chinese doctrines and indigenous Korean culture and beliefs.

[24] In this respect, Daoism tended to reinforce certain fatalism – prayers for health, for rain and for strengthening the army. It emphasized making do with one's lot, carefulness and even submission, and at the same time, legitimated certain animist trends in popular culture. (Sung Soo Kim: 1994<http://www2.gol.com/users/quakers/Ham_6_3_ham_merging.htm>)

[25] In Japan the last can be seen as a rather meager reflection of the initial flourishing of philosophical Daoism.

China. The naturalistic aesthetics, lifestyle and worldview of China, Korea and Japan are similar because they were all influenced by such traditional shamanism, blended with local cultural aspects and the philosophical schools of Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. Common ideas, though not specifically Daoist, had been circulating across East-Asia.

The most important of these concepts are: (1) the interaction between the natural world and society, seen as continuity between cosmos and human beings; (2) the cult of Heaven, the worship of ancestors, and the divine origin of the sovereign; 3) the constant transformations in the universe, reversing all things to Dao – the ultimate source, from which they emerged. Generally, the universe is viewed as a hierarchically organized system of correspondences (living organism in which every part reproduces the whole). The human being is a microcosm strictly corresponding to the macrocosm; the body reproduces the structure of Heaven and Earth. Daoism has especially elaborated upon a kind of magical relationship and integral unity of nature and mankind, which is one of the most important features of Chinese mentality.

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'Confucianisms' and the Confucian Comeback in China

Geir Sigurðsson

Abstract

This paper discusses the difficulty of defining Confucianism in light of the multiplicity of its manifestations that have seen the light of day during its long and complex history. It argues that while this profusion of meanings does not to any significant extent affect scholarly discussions, it poses some problematic questions with regard to the apparent resurgence of Confucianism in the People's Republic of China at present.

1. The Definition Problem

The Western isms of Aristotelianism or Kantianism are fairly straightforward labels. They are immediately understood as philosophical schools of thought or particular interpretations based on either philosophy. Certainly, the predilection for these teachings can in certain cases slip towards something less like philosophy and closer to religion or ideology. Among the clearest examples of such mutation is found with Platonism. Apart from referring to the specific theories of Plato himself, Platonism is also associated with metaphysical realism, which assumes the actual and absolute existence of qualities and values. Platonism had a direct influence on Christianity by providing it with the framework of metaphysical realism. Hence, in this particular sense we could say that Christianity is a version – or at least partly an outgrowth or product – of Platonism. And the same applies to a number of ideologies that similarly take for granted the existence of absolute truth. There is even some justification to associate virtually the entire Euro-American philosophical tradition with Platonism, which in fact has been done, for instance by Alfred North Whitehead and Martin Heidegger.

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The crucial matter, though, is that we do not usually call these ideologies or philosophies Platonism. Instead, we call them Christianity, Cartesianism, Marxism, Utilitarianism, etc., and might then add that they are influenced by the Platonic philosophy or those aspects of it that tend to characterize Western thinking.

It is rather different with Confucianism. In Chinese history and culture from the Han dynasty onward, Confucianism is literally all over the place. It is so pervasive in past Chinese societies that it is hard to find an equivalent type of entity in other world cultures. With regard to its social and cultural omnipresence, the closest we have to Confucianism is probably Islam or Medieval Christianity. Some readers might find this analogy unattractive, but it relates less to the content than its social role and status as a dominant ideology. When dominant in China, Confucianism was socially ubiquitous. It dictated values of life, the structure of interpersonal relationships, and the general direction of life. It was more appropriately described as a custom for living than a religion, although it certainly entailed religious components, such as ceremonies, rituals and a constant effort to improve oneself. Although there are no Confucian gods as such, the life of a Confucian would generally be filled with spirits and gods of all kinds.

An ideology so pervasive in any society over a long stretch of time is bound to cause problems of demarcation. Practices, beliefs, customs and values originating elsewhere but gaining ascendancy or popularity in a society dominated by a single ideology will tend to be absorbed by that very ideology. Thus, just as Islam is associated with – and blamed for – repugnant practices such as female genital mutilation though nowhere endorsed in the Qur'an, the originally Legalist Three Bond Doctrine (*san gang* 三纲) according to which women were subjected to absolute obedience to men at the various stages of their life has been considered a Confucian dogma. Even footbinding is often strongly associated with Confucianism. This may seem unfair to those who see Confucianism as a potential vehicle of modernization, but long into the Qing dynasty footbinding accorded with the general Confucian view of the ideal woman, that is to say as obedient, moral and both respectable and respectful, and

the practice was even interpreted and justified as a form of Confucian 'self-cultivation' or xiushen (修身).[1]

Thus footbinding may not originally have been a Confucian custom, but it was at least condoned if not even advocated by the Confucian social structure. The simple historical fact that *san gang* was endorsed by the Confucian imperial ideology and applied for two millennia entails that it is in a certain sense a Confucian doctrine. Confucians are those who upheld the doctrine in actual reality. In any case, the practical integration of Confucianism and Legalism by Dong Zhongshu in the Han dynasty ideology was to determine much of the character of dynastic Confucianism.

Furthermore, although pre-Qin writings are not unambiguously chauvinist and misogynist, the clear subjugation of women during the imperial period is largely traceable to Confucian visions of the status of women. Although much effort has been made to reinterpret Confucianism in such a way that it approaches contemporary equal rights views, it is certainly no coincidence that Confucianism does not appear particularly attractive to women. The dominance of male representation is quite evident when Confucianism is being discussed. This was also quite conspicuous at the large conference of the International Confucian Association in Beijing in October 2014, where at least 80% of the participants happened to be men.

It should not be forgotten that Confucianism took in a number of influences not only from Legalism, but from Buddhism and Daoism as well. The emphasis, found with some Neo-Confucians such as Zhou Dunyi, on calming desires and even 'having no desire' was imported from Buddhism, even though Neo-Confucianism was largely launched as an antidote to Buddhist influence in medieval China. In the 20th century, this was still a conspicuous aspect of some New Confucian thinkers, such as Mou Zongsan, Xu Fuguan and Liang Shuming. Furthermore, Western thinking has had and still has quite an impact on Confucianism in its modernizing aspirations.

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[1] See an illuminating discussion in Rosenlee 2006: 141.

2. Confucianisms

In the following, an attempt shall be made to identify some of the various kinds of Confucianism: the different 'Confucianisms'.[2] First of all, Confucianism can be understood as philosophy or at least a philosophical stream of thought building upon certain ideas or principles of what constitutes the good life and the good society. Confucianism undeniably contains profound philosophical considerations on the ideal human life.

As a religion, at least three manifestations of Confucianism can be identified: first, an institutionalized Confucian religion (rujiao 儒教) as practiced mainly in SE-Asia, but also Hong Kong and elsewhere. Secondly, it constitutes the core or at least a vital part of what is sometimes called 'diffused' or 'folk' religion, which is particularly widespread in the southeast of China and highly syncretic by being heavily influenced by other religions such as Daoism and Buddhism.[3] Thirdly, one can speak of Confucianism as a religion or rather religiousness in the sense of a "transformative way of life" (Taylor, 1998).

Confucianism can also be understood as an ideology, also called political Confucianism, and in two different meanings. On one hand it is the historical one, i.e. the actual ruling ideology governing policy in the Chinese Empire, which obviously includes quite a diversified mosaic of various historical trends. On the other hand, we have the 'ideal' kind of political Confucianism, or the proposed structure of the political realm, for instance as recently suggested by Jiang Qing, but also, and quite differently, by Kang Youwei, Xu Fuguan and a long list of others.

Confucianism is further referred to as the essence of Chinese culture. At least two slightly different while certainly interrelated aspects of this cultural form can be detected. The first is more general and constitutes the broad environing structure that informs the way

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[2] This plural term is not my invention. It has, for instance, been used by the Taiwanese scholar Huang Chun-chieh in the title of his recent book, *East Asian Confucianisms* (2015).

[3] There are many diverse terms for this religious phenomenon, e.g. 民间宗教 (folk religion), 分散性宗教 (diffused religion), 自发宗教 (spontaneous religion), 生活宗教 (lived religion) or simply 中华教 (Chinese religion).

of life and thought and values among both the Chinese and other East Asian nations. The second is more particular and understood as a collection of certain values, motivations and outlooks, in short 'ways of living', that have fostered development and modernization in the so-called 'Confucian' societies in a manner similar to the Protestant ethic as analyzed by Max Weber a century ago. There are those who disagree that the Confucian 'culture' contains such developmental elements and would therefore consider this aspect of Confucian culture non-existent. However, the issue cannot be dismissed in such a simple manner. Whether or not it is a mistaken thesis that Confucianism has actually been a catalyst for modernization in East Asia, the presence of the thesis as such may, in a sense, be a self-fulfilling prophecy. That is to say, relevant factors believed to bolster economic and industrial development are picked out, labeled Confucian and even emphasized as core elements of Confucian culture. In this way they are actually generated, made up, so to speak, as the essence of Confucianism. Singapore is a good case in point, where certain values such as thrift and industriousness have been promoted as specifically Confucian characteristics of the national culture (cf. Sigurðsson 2014: 133–134).

On top of all this, Confucianism denotes of course many different movements or streams of thought existing in different periods of time and having many different characteristics and accents. Han Confucianism is quite different from Qing Confucianism, and a sharp distinction is made between pre-Qin Confucianism and Song-Ming Confucianism. Consider also its syncretic nature by virtue of which, during its long development, it has taken in influences from a multitude of other movements, philosophies and ideologies as mentioned above.

Then, and perhaps finally, a very important factor: namely the manifestations of Confucianism among non-Chinese peoples. East Asia and parts of Southeast Asia have been significantly Confucianized throughout the centuries. Some East Asian nations, perhaps especially Koreans, may even be more Confucian than the Chinese. There are convincing arguments for regarding the *juche* ideology in North Korea as a dogmatic Confucian ideology rather than a kind of Marx-Leninist communism. It certainly seems more

helpful to explain its political character. And, finally, even Boston presides over its own special version of Confucianism, though it is probably restricted to certain academic communities (cf. Neville 2000).

In general, the versions of Confucianism or the various Confucianisms that have taken form in these various places were adapted to local cultures and developed into something rather different from any 'original' form of Confucianism – if it makes sense to speak of such a form.

3. The Confucian Comeback – of which Confucianism?

In this short and admittedly sketchy discussion, quite a few types of different Confucianisms have been identified. Now, the ambiguity of the label is rarely a problem in academic discourse as we are prone to specify what we mean, e.g. by referring to late Ming Confucianism, the Confucianism of the *Lunyu*, or the Confucian elements in popular religion. The ambiguity becomes problematic, however, when speaking of the comeback of Confucianism in contemporary China.

Certainly, that comeback is no less diversified than Confucianism itself. It seems to be taking place on a number of levels, religious, cultural and political. Clearly, religion is on the rise in China in general, not just popular religion with Confucian associations, but also Daoism, Buddhism, Christianity and other forms. But Confucian elements are undoubtedly part of that rise.

The *guoxue* 国学 fever is bringing Confucian values and ways of thinking back into quotidian lifestyle – though it is still too early to tell how deep it will run. Even aspects of Confucianism that until recently were considered anti-modern and therefore undesirable, such as li 礼 (ritual propriety) and xiao 孝 (filial piety or family reverence), are now gaining some positive attention. Deliberately downplayed by the new Confucians in the early twentieth century, these aspects of Confucianism are now being brought back to life, at least in certain, and perhaps restricted, circles.

There are many fascinating questions and exciting obscurities about the development of these religious and cultural manifestations. But the political one is the biggest conundrum of all.

In recent years, some kind of official move in a Confucian direction has been taking place in China. It has even been suggested that preparations are underway to replace the by now traditional socialist school material with more classical – or canonical – Chinese writings. It still remains to be seen whether this will turn out to be the case. In many ways, though, it would not be surprising, considering that the young generation generally considers the Marxist writings as all but meaningless. On the other hand, however, it seems a fair question whether it is likely that a Confucian curriculum in China would be welcomed with more interest or enthusiasm than Marxism.

Certainly, for scholars interested in Confucianism, not least those who endorse much of its teachings, a more official embrace of Confucianism in China is fascinating. But it is undeniably hard to conceive of an institutionalized kind of Confucianism that would be free of some of its worst manifestations, as a kind of a dogmatic and rigorously hierarchical ideology used as a political tool to justify authoritarian rule. In fact, this seems to be what Lee Kuan-yew and the People's Action Party had in mind when trying to establish Singapore as the exemplary Confucian society in the 1980s. This failed in Singapore, not only because of ethnic complications, but mainly because Chinese Singaporeans were generally unenthusiastic about Confucian values, at least the particular 'Confucian' values that the authorities strove to promote.

Might the same apply to the Chinese population at large? Is it conceivable that the Chinese are not as Confucian in their views of life and world as is often held? It is true that *guoxue* has been well-received, especially by the middle class. But fascination with historical aspects of Chinese culture and the proliferation of soap operas taking place in the Qing dynasty is hardly equivalent to the 'Confucianization' of the Chinese population. This may seem as an unfair trivialization of *guoxue*, but the point is that in this particular respect it is important to distinguish clearly between traditional Chinese culture and Confucianism. They are not one and the same.

Recently, a young Chinese woman came to see me to inquire about Western philosophy. When I asked her about her views of Chinese philosophy, she said she was not interested in it. Later she wrote me an email in which she stated what she thought of

Confucianism and the ostensible Confucianization of contemporary China. While what she wrote is undeniably rather cynical, it may be largely representative of her generation. The following is a short excerpt:

> Presently, most Chinese do not know what Confucianism really is, but only know some governmental rules and so-called traditional culture promoted by the Chinese government. Because the Chinese government does not allow people to have their own independent thinking, especially a different political opinion, it still utilizes Confucianism to promote some superficial, outdated and fatuous ideas to control people's thinking and life in the whole country.

If this is what young Chinese people think of Confucianism, as a mere tool to exert control over people, then the future of Confucianism in China appears to be rather bleak. For if its values and viewpoints are not shared and embodied by the general public, it will hardly amount to more than 'glib speech and an insinuating appearance' in the political arena – the very antithesis of authentic and sincere social living that was the vision of Confucius himself in his highest ideal of humanity, or *ren* 仁.[4]

Thus, in light of this discussion, it may be appropriate to ask in conclusion, not only whether an expectation of some kind of Confucianization of Chinese society is realistic, but also whether a Confucianization of Chinese politics is at all desirable.

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[4] The reference is to *Analects* 1.3: 子曰: 巧言令色，鲜矣仁！ "The Master Said: 'It is a rare thing for glib speech and an insinuating appearance to accompany authoritative conduct (*ren* 仁).'" Translation by Ames & Rosemont 1998.

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Поезия и литература

Poetry and Literature

The Endangered Genre:
Re-considering the Significance of the Eight-legged Essay in the History of Chinese Literature

Wu, Tsz Wing Giovanna*

Abstract

In the numerous versions of classical Chinese literature history published from the May Fourth Movement onwards, the baguwen (or eight-legged essay) has long been marginalized and has even become an endangered genre in the history of literature. Most editors of literary history emphasized the 'indictments' of the baguwen, while some completely rejected the baguwen from the history of classical Chinese literature. Notwithstanding, over the last two decades, some scholars started to include the baguwen into the literary history; their discussions are, to a certain extent, constrained by the ideas introduced by the May Fourth intellectuals, and they could not fully reveal the importance of the baguwen in the history of classical Chinese literature. In this paper, I argue that perhaps the baguwen's marginalization in today's historical accounts of classical Chinese literature contradicts the actual development of literature during the Ming and Qing dynasties. The most significant difference between the baguwen and other literary genres that blossomed during the Ming and Qing dynasties is that the baguwen is not only a literary genre, but also carries the core spirit of the Ming and Qing dynasties' literati culture. The influence of the baguwen radiates upon different literary genres, as well as the literary criticism of the time. The development of the baguwen was indeed interdependent with other literary genres such as classical prose, xiaopin prose (or minor appreciated prose), fiction and drama during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Unfortunately, previous studies usually consider the baguwen to be a development of Ming-Qing literature only while ignoring the developmental interactions and interdependencies between the baguwen and other literary genres. By utilizing the case study regarding the interaction between the baguwen and the dramas of the Ming-Qing dynasties, this paper reviews the literary aesthetics and criticisms during the Ming and Qing dynasties and reveals that the baguwen is an indispensable factor in the study of Ming-Qing literature.

Introduction

Ever since the May Fourth Movement, the *baguwen* 八股文 (or the eight-legged essay) has been marginalized by editors of Chinese literary history,[1] and some editors have rejected *baguwen* from their discussions about classical Chinese literature. During the 1930s, scholars such as Lu Qian 盧前 (1905–1951) opposed the exclusion of *baguwen* from the history of Chinese literature. In the preface of *Baguwen Xiaoshi* 八股文小史 (A Short History of the Eight-legged Essay),[2] Lu stated that 'the *chuanqi* 傳奇 drama and the *baguwen* are two significant genres created in the Ming dynasty' (Lu 1996:143). In *Ming Wenxue Shi* 明文學史 (A History of Ming Literature),[3] Song Yunbin 宋雲彬 (1897–1979) reckoned that the *baguwen* as a genre may not deserve to be regarded as literature, yet it deeply influenced the culture and thoughts of intellectuals during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and concluded that the *baguwen* should not be excluded from the history of Chinese literature (Song 2001: 785). Yet, these opinions still could not reverse the trend of abandoning the *baguwen* from the history of Chinese literature in the following few decades.

Entering the twenty-first century, some scholars raised the discussion again, stressed the importance of the *baguwen* in the history of Chinese literature, and even compiled histories specifically for the *baguwen*.[4] In some recent compilations of Chinese literary history,

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[1] Since the Qing dynasty abolished the selection of government officials through *baguwen* compositions in 1902, chapters about the *baguwen* could be found in the history of Chinese literature until the May Fourth Movement in 1919. For example, Wang Mengceng's 王夢曾 *Zhongguo Wenxue Shi* 中國文學史 (The History of Chinese Literature), published in 1914, contains a section titled 'shiwen zhi xingqi' 時文之興起 (The Rise of Contemporary Prose) (Wang 1914: 67).

[2] *Baguwen Xiaoshi* 八股文小史 (A Short History of the Eight-legged Essay) was first published in 1933.

[3] *Ming Wenxue Shi* 明文學史 (A History of Ming Literature) was first published in 1934.

[4] Three publications on the history of *baguwen* can be found from the past two decades, including: *Ming Dai Baguwen Shi Tan* 明代八股文史探 (An Explora-

baguwen have once again became part of the Chinese literature; however, their compilers still stressed the negative impacts of the *baguwen* on Ming-Qing literature (Sun & Owen 2014: 24–25; Yuan 2014: 63–66). In many cases, these 'negative impacts' are indeed the influences of taking *baguwen* as the means of administering the imperial examination system, rather than the influences of the *baguwen* on Ming-Qing literature. One significance of compiling literary history is to integrate our literary knowledge; as for literary education, reading a history of literature is a crucial starting point for learners. The major objective for including *baguwen* into literary histories is to outline how the *baguwen* inherited from and influenced other literary genres. As for issues such as showing how the *baguwen* constrained the thoughts of Ming-Qing intellectuals as well as the positive and negative impacts of *baguwen* on Ming-Qing society, these are probably not the issues that literary history should solve.

In this paper, I argue that the importance of the *baguwen* in the history of Chinese literature can be divided into diachronic and synchronic aspects. Diachronic aspects refer to how the *baguwen* inherited features from literary genres that arose before the Ming dynasty or how the *baguwen* provoked new genres to arise, while the synchronic dimension refers to the interactions and interdependencies between the *baguwen* and other literary genres during the Ming and Qing dynasties as well as the negotiations between literary ideas developed from various genres. With the current marginalization of *baguwen* in the history of Chinese literature, it is hard to comprehend the whole picture of the development of classical Chinese literature, especially for the actual development of Ming-Qing literature. When we study the literature and literary theory of the Ming and Qing dynasties, we may notice that a lack of knowledge about the *baguwen* hinders the comprehensive understanding of the Ming and Qing dynasties' literature and literary circles. As Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 pointed out, 'The so-called reflection on "literary history"

tion of History of the Eight-legged Essay of the Ming Dynasty) and *Ming Dai Baguwen Shi*明代八股文史 (A History of the Eight-legged Essay in the Ming Dynasty), which were compiled by Gong Duqing 龔篤清 in 2005 and 2015 respectively, and *Baguwen Shi* 八股文史 (A History of the *Baguwen*), compiled by Kong Qingmao 孔慶茂 in 2008 (Wu 2017: 7–9).

does not refer to the praise and censure on specific writers or works, but to think about literature as a subject in context' (Chen 2011:21). Nowadays, some editors have included the *baguwen*, a genre that has been 'absented' for almost a century from the history of Chinese literature, into their discussions. It is certainly a major step forward for the writing of literary history. However, these discussions are often too brief in the literary history, when compared with other literary genres that flowered in the Ming and Qing dynasties.[5] This situation, I would say, runs counter to the actual development of the *baguwen* during the Ming and Qing dynasties. In view of this, this paper will use the interactions between the *baguwen* and Ming-Qing drama to illustrate how the long-term neglect of the *baguwen* in the history of Chinese literature has indirectly undermined the cognitive ability of today's readers to study classical Chinese literature.

This paper consists of two parts. The first part is designed to show that the *baguwen* is an indispensable genre of Ming-Qing literature. It briefly introduces the origins of the *baguwen* and provides an overview of the interactions and interdependencies between the *baguwen* and other literary genres during the Ming and Qing dynasties. The aim of the second part is to explore the negotiations between *baguwen* and drama upon their development during the Ming and Qing dynasties. With respect to two dramas, *Mudan Ting* 牡丹亭 (The Peony Pavilion) and *Xixiang Ji* 西廂記 (Romance of the West Chamber), it investigates the interdependencies between the composition of the *baguwen* and drama. Taking *Xianqing Ouji* 閒情偶寄 (A Temporary Lodge for My Leisure Thoughts) as an example, it also illustrates the impact of the *baguwen* on drama aesthetics and criticism. Finally, this paper re-examines the value of the *baguwen*, as an endangered genre, in the history of Chinese literature.

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[5] The *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* only has a two-page profile of the *baguwen*, which mentions the *baguwen* of the early and mid-Ming dynasty, whereas the development of the genre in the late Ming and Qing dynasties is not included (Sun & Owen 2014: 24–25). As for the third edition of *Zhongguo Wenxue Shi* 中國文學史 (The History of Chinese Literature), there is a four-page overview of the development of the *baguwen* during the Ming dynasty, yet the development of the *baguwen* during the Qing dynasty is also excluded from the discussion (Yuan 2014: 63–67).

Part One. *Baguwen* and the Literature of the Ming and Qing Dynasties

A. The Origin of *Baguwen*

Baguwen is also known as *babiwen* 八比文 (eight-comparison essay), *bajiaoci* 八腳詞 (eight-footed essay), *sishuwen* 四書文 (essay on the *Four Books*), *jingyi* 經義 (classics exegesis), *zhiyi* 制義 (formulated exegesis), *zhiyi* 制藝 (formulated literary art), *shiwen* 時文 (contemporary prose), *shiyi* 時藝 (contemporary literary art), and *shiyi* 時義 (contemporary exegesis) (Qi 1992: 7-10; Wu 2005:28). In glancing at these names, the naming of the genre was based on three main characteristics of the *baguwen*. The first category is based on the genre's structure, including the eight-legged essay, the eight-comparison essay, and the eight-footed essay. According to Wu Chengxue 吳承學, the concept of *gu* 股 (leg) or *jiao* 腳 (foot) —the basic classifier of the essay structure—was first seen in the Song dynasty. Its meaning is close to a paragraph, yet a paragraph generally consists of several sentences, while *gu* or *jiao* can be as short as one sentence, or made up of several sentences (Wu 2005: 29–30). The second category is based on the content of the genre, including essay on the *Four Books*, classics exegesis, formulated exegesis, and formulated literary art. The third category notes both content of the genre and the significance of the time period, including contemporary prose, contemporary literary art and contemporary exegesis. Of the three methods of naming, the first category highlights the genre's stylistic features; therefore, the genre is generally called *baguwen*.

Regarding the origin of the *baguwen*, there have been different opinions since the Ming dynasty (Ye 1994: 42–45). The numerous opinions could be summarized into nine categories, including them originating from *moyi* 墨義 examinations (written examination for classics exegesis) of the Tang dynasty, from classics exegesis of the Song dynasty, from annotations of Confucius's classics, from paralleled prose, from drama, from vernacular fiction, from regulated *fu* poetry, from examination poems, and from the classical prose of the Tang and Song dynasties (Ye 1994: 42–57; Lu 1996: 143–151; Wu 2000: 175–185; Huang 2005: 44–49). The various opinions on

the origin of the *baguwen* reveal that the genre had a complicated descent and that it was integrated with literary features inherited from different genres (Wu 2000, 185). The complex kinship of the *baguwen* not only showed that the genre was inherited from genres formed in previous dynasties but also showed the results of interactions and interdependencies between the *baguwen* and other genres during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Since the Ming dynasty, the *baguwen* written by Wang Ao 王鏊 (1450–1524) has been regarded as the model for the *baguwen* (Elman 2009: 696; Sun & Owen 2010: 24). The structure consists of the following eight parts (Lo 1990: 168; Huang 2005: 24–32; Elman 2009: 696):

Table 1. Structure of the *baguwen*

tiqian 題前 (an introduction)	*1. poti* 破題 (broaching the topic)
	2. chengti 承題 (carrying forward the topic)
	3. qijiang 起講 (opening statement)
ruti 入題 (revealing the topic)	
zhengti 正題 (the main body)	*4. tibi* 提比 (beginning legs)
	chuti 出題 (raising the topic)*
	5. zhongbi 中比 (central legs)
	guojie 過接 (linking section)*
	6. houbi 後比 (latter legs)*
	7. xiaobi 小比 (minor legs)*
8. shoujie 收結 (concluding section)	

 * These parts sometimes do not exist.

Even though the *baguwen* has always been regarded as a highly formalized genre, there is a certain amount of flexibility in practice (Ye 1994: 41). Nowadays, readers often find *baguwen* confusing when reading them. One reason why is that, since the mid-Ming

dynasty, some writers did not follow the formulated structure to write the *baguwen*; some finished their works with ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen or twenty legs, while some with only two, four or six legs (Lu 1996: 153; Gong 2005: 397; Hung 2005: 40), which increases the reading difficulty.

B. *Baguwen* as the Core of the Ming-Qing Literature

The differences between the *baguwen* and other prevailing genres during the Ming and Qing dynasties were mainly related to two aspects: the content and functions of the genre. In terms of content, the *baguwen* serves as a literary genre and a literary exegesis at the same time, which is aimed at interpreting the core spirit of the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*, based on the thoughts of the Confucian sages (Ye 1994: 40; Elman 2009: 695–696). Precisely because the *baguwen* served as interpretations of the *Four Book*s and the *Five Classics*, some modern scholars have questioned whether the genre should be included in the category of literature (Song 2010: 785). In terms of function, since the *baguwen* was a means of selecting government officials during the Ming and Qing dynasties, writing the *baguwen* became a must for literati. The population of *baguwen* writers was certainly much larger than those of any other genre. Under the system of selecting government officials, scholars usually started their training and continued to practice writing the *baguwen* in childhood (Wang 2002: 67–69).[6] Such education not only cultivated children

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[6]   As for the public school education of the Ming and Qing dynasties, other than the *Guozijian* 國子監 (Imperial Academy) set up by the central government, there were local schools ran by the governments of prefectures, cities, and counties; community schools and private schools were also found in the villages. Both public and private schools were aimed at training candidates for the imperial examination; therefore, the main content of education was *baguwen* composi-tion. Schoolchildren often started their training by reading *Sanzi jing* 三字經 (Three Character Classic), *Baijia xing* 百家姓 (Hundred Family Names), and *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand Character Essay) to recognize the Chinese char-acters and then began to recite the *Four Books*, followed by training on *baguw-en* writing, called *kaibi* 開筆 (to write one's first essay). The training on writing *baguwen* was based on a step-by-step mode, by first practicing coupled phrases, called *duike* 對課 (to give answering phrase), followed by writing *caimi shi* 猜謎詩 (riddle poems) to practice the skill of *poti* 破題 (broaching the topic) while writing *baguwen*.

with Confucian practices and deeply influenced the literati culture of the Ming and Qing dynasties but also affected the literati's aesthetic pursuits and ideology, and indirectly affected literary developments in the Ming and Qing dynasties. Almost all notable Ming-Qing literati we know today had written *baguwen.*[7] Therefore, the *baguwen* is said to be the common language of intellectuals during the Ming and Qing dynasties and carried the intellectuals' ideology of the time. In other words, the foundation of Ming-Qing literature was basically constructed on the training to write the *baguwen*. The training on composing the *baguwen* had a remarkable influence on the literati's creations. For example, they frequently applied the criteria of writing the *baguwen*, either consciously or unconsciously, to the aesthetics of other forms of art, and the technical terms of writing *baguwen* had become a common language between commenters and readers when reviewing and criticizing literature written in other genres.

Although the *baguwen* has long been neglected in the history of Chinese literature, it was undoubtedly the most important genre from the viewpoints of Ming and Qing literati. The genre was of critical importance not just because it was valued by the imperial court but also because the genre was essential for the development of various genres prevailing at the time. In 'Tongxin Shuo'童心說 (Child-like Mind), Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602) stated:

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[7] Poets such as Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1447–1516), Li Mengyang李夢陽 (1472–1529), and Wang Shizhen王世貞 (1529–1590), who were the leaders of the Former and Latter Seven Masters; prose writers such as Yuan Hongdao袁宏道 (1568–1610), Tao Wangling陶望齡 (1562–1609), and Jiang Renke江盈科 (1553–1605) of the Gong'an 公安literary school, Zhong Xing鍾惺 (1581-1624) and Tan Yuanchun譚元春 (1586–1637) of the Jingling 竟陵literary school, and also Wang Siren王思任 (1575–1646); dramatists such as Xu Wei徐渭 (1521–1593), Tang Xianzu湯顯祖(1550–1616), and Shen Jing沈璟 (1533–1610); and novelists such as Feng Menglong馮夢龍 (1574–1646) and Wu Jingzi吳敬梓 (1701–1754) were all good at writing *baguwen*. Even writers who emphasized reluctance to participate in the imperial examination, such as Chen Jiru陳繼儒 (1558–1639), Li Yu 李漁 (1610-1680), and Zhang Dai張岱 (1597–1679), had all received training on the *baguwen*.

[There is] no need to select ancient poems [as models], [and there is] no need [to select] the prose of the pre-Qin period [as a model]. [These works] have descended throughout the literature of the Six Dynasties, been changed into regulated verse, and [then] changed into *chuanqi*, *yuanben* drama, *zaju* drama, *Xixiang* (Romance of the West Chamber) drama, *Shuihu Zhuan* (Water Margin) [and] into today's *juziye* (literati studies of the imperial examination); all [of these works represent] the highest achievements of the past and the present [and are] hard to come by, since [it was] current and trend make the literature one after another (Li 2010: 99).

詩何必古選，文何必先秦。降而為六朝，變而為近體
又變而為傳奇，變而為院本，為雜劇，為《西廂》曲
為《水滸傳》，為今之舉子業，皆古今至文，不可得而時
勢先後論也。

Juziye 舉子業 means the *baguwen*. Li Zhi broke the hierarchy of literary genres and juxtaposed the vernacular fiction and drama with regulated verse; Li reckoned that only quality writers determined the value of literary works. He also included the *baguwen* in a list of the highest achievements of Chinese literature, and showed his affirmation of the value of the *baguwen* in the realm of Chinese literature. In the '*Tangshi Jishi Xu*' 唐詩紀事序 (Preface on the *Chronicle of Tang Poems*), Wang Siren pointed out：

Literature of a dynasty originates from the spirit of that dynasty; [if] the spirit of that [dynasty is] not specific, [its] literature does not transmit [to the later dynasties]. [Literary works such as] the annals of the Han dynasty, [the classics of] neo-Daoism of the Jin dynasty, the poems of the Tang dynasty, the classics of neo-Confucianism of the Song dynasty, the drama of the Yuan dynasty and the *xiaoti* essays (lesser-themed essays) of the Ming dynasty all inevitably transmit to the latter dynasties (Wang 2010: 78).

一代之言皆一代之精神所出，其精神不專，則言不傳。漢
之策、晉之玄、唐之詩、宋之學、元之曲、明之小題，皆
必傳之言也。

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Themes of *baguwen* can be classified into *dati* 大題 (great themes) and *xiaoti* 小題 (lesser themes) essays. *Dati* normally applied to the questions in the provincial, metropolitan and palace examinations, while *xiaoti* used for the juvenile examination (Li 2006: 27–28). could be Wang Siren's explanation shows that the literati of the Ming dynasty considered the *baguwen* as featuring prominently in Ming literature.

The salaries for government officials during the Ming dynasty were the lowest among all dynasties in ancient China (Huang & Chen 1996: 388). Due to the socio-economic growth after the mid-Ming dynasty, lower-ranking officials were often unable to maintain a basic living. Along with the prosperity of the publishing industry, numerous unsuccessful candidates of the imperial examination had become professional writers, and many lower-ranking officials–who experienced ups and downs within the bureaucracy–had also taken this opportunity to become semi-professional writers. Therefore, the Ming writers of popular literature, such as writers of *xiaopin* 小品 prose (minor appreciated prose), novelists, and dramatists, were basically good at writing *baguwen*.[8] The *baguwen* was the core of the literati's writing and life during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and the current phenomenon of marginalizing the genre in literary history does not reflect its actual developments and influences on the literature of the Ming and Qing dynasties. In the following part, I attempt to describe the interactions between the *baguwen* and drama during the late imperial period to demonstrate that knowledge of the *baguwen* is essential to reading literature from the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Part Two. Interactions and Interdependencies between *Baguwen* and Ming-Qing Drama

Although the *baguwen* has steadily been included in the Chinese literary histories that have been published in recent years, it seems that

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[8] For instance, the dramatist Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 was regarded as one of the four masters of the *baguwen* of the Ming dynasty. The novelist Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) was good at composing *baguwen* with topics that were exclusively from *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals).

the compilers of these monographs have no intention to re-evaluate or re-position it within literary history. Given the brief descriptions on the genre in these histories, readers would be able to note that the *baguwen* has appeared in literary history, yet they may not comprehend the inheritance relationships of the *baguwen* and other genres in the history of literature. It would be more difficult to give readers a comprehensive understanding of the relations between the *baguwen* and its contemporary genres. Taking the inter-developments of the *baguwen* and *chuanqi* drama as an example, the features of both genres became more and more significant since the mid-Ming dynasty and, by the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, negotiations between the two genres became more frequent. Unfortunately, the introduction of the *baguwen* that appears in the recently published histories of Chinese literature only addressed the late Ming dynasty; the development of the genre during the Qing dynasty has been omitted. Moreover, since the stages of the *baguwen*'s development could not be found in the histories, readers could neither master the rise and fall of the genre during the Ming and Qing dynasties, nor understand the relationship between the development of the *baguwen* and the fashion of the literati circles during the late Ming period.

There are two key factors that increased the negotiating frequency between the *baguwen* and *chuanqi* drama during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties: Both genres had matured and were experiencing the stage of reformations since the Wanli 萬曆period (1572–1620) of the Ming dynasty. A considerable number of brilliant dramatists arose following the mid-Ming dynasty and these dramatists were basically trained to write the *baguwen* since their early childhood. Their tastes and aesthetic pursuits were certainly distinct from those professional dramatists who belonged to the lower class in the Yuan dynasty. The emergence of literati dramatists not only provoked the refinement of *chuanqi* drama, but it also fostered the interactions between the *baguwen* and *chuanqi* drama. In the following sections, I will limit the discussion to the late Ming and early Qing period. By revealing the negotiation between the two genres, I will elaborate upon the importance of re-examining the *baguwen* in the history of Chinese literature.

A. Character Portraying in *Mudan Ting* and *Baguwen*

Dramatists of the Ming and Qing dynasties observed that both the *baguwen* and *chaunqi* drama were featured in *dai ren liyan* 代人立言 (to speak on behalf of the character), and reckoned that mastering the skill of portraying characters in drama benefits the ability to compose the *baguwen* (Huang 2005: 359). Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖, the author of *Mudan Ting*, was a notable writer for the *baguwen* during the late Ming period. A candidate named Huang Junfu 黃君輔admired his talent and requested his advice for writing the *baguwen* just after Tang Xianzu finished composing *Mudan Ting*. Tang read Junfu's article and threw it on the ground. Junfu was even more determined to obtain advice. Tang Xianzu then asked him to burn his article and read *Mudan Ting*. Junfu finally understood that Tang Xianzu hoped that he would acquire the skill to write the *baguwen* by mastering the character portrayal technique for the drama (He 1997: 610).

As *baguwen* and *chuanqi* drama were both newly developed genres in the Ming dynasty, they became a contributing factor for each other's developments and continued to interact and negotiate with each other, not only because their authors comprised the same group of literati, but also since the two genres shared common literary characteristics. Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910–1998) has compared the mentality of writing the *baguwen* to the mentality of an artist on stage:

> [The writer] probably [needs] to figure out and imitate the ancient's tone and put himself or herself into the situation [of the ancient], [and then] display [the mentality of the ancient] as literary work; [the writer should] pantomime the artist to expose the minds of the sages (Qian 2010: 94).
> 蓋揣摩古人口吻，設身處地，發為文章；以俳優之道，抉聖賢之心。

The basis of the requirement to write the *baguwen* is to *dai shengren liyan*代聖人立言 (to speak on behalf of the sage), and the drama is basically featured in *dai ren liyan* 代人立言 (to speak on behalf of the character).

In addition to dramatists and readers, literary critics of the time were also aware that reading *chuanqi* drama would be conducive to the writing of the *baguwen*. Wang Siren, for example, who was a writer of *baguwen* and a literary critic, often reshaped the characters in *The Peony Pavilion* while he was commenting on the drama (Wu 2016: 11-13). *Qinghui Ge Piping Mudan Ting Huanhun Ji* 清暉閣批評牡丹亭還魂記 (Qinghui Ge's criticism on *The Peony Pavilion*), which was edited and commented by Wang Siren, has been considered as the best version of *Mudan Ting* in print; further, the critic himself has been acknowledged as *zhiyin* 知音 (soul mate) of Tang Xianzu during the late Ming dynasty (Wu 2016: 9). At the beginning of 'Pidian Yuming Tang *Mudan Ting* Xu' (Preface on the Yuming Tang's *The Peony Pavilion* with Annotations), Wang Siren applied the technique of *poti* and stressed the difficulties of conveying depictions:

> Fire can be drawn, [but] wind cannot be traced; ice can be engraved, [but] vacancy cannot be turned (Wang 2010: 33). [9]
> 火可畫，風不可描；冰可鏤，空不可斡。

He then pointed out that character portrayal was one of the significant aesthetic values of *Mudan Ting* and reckoned that Tang Xianzu was good at portraying characters (Wang 2010: 33-34). Every character found in *Mudan Ting* vividly showed the uniqueness of their personalities. Applying the technique of *poti* that originated from writing the *baguwen* shows that the critic was also trained as

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[9] The preface was collected in Wang Siren's *Wenfan Xiaopin* 文飯小品, and has been categorised as *xiaopin* writing (a minor appreciated essay) by literati since the late imperial China. One of the main reasons for the rise of the *xiaopin* essay of the late Ming dynasty was to break the constraints of composing the eight-legged essay (Tsao 1988: 75 & 99). However, Wang Siren frequently applied *poti* (broaching the topic) – a technique that originated from writing the *baguwen* – to his *xiaopin* essays. Therefore, even if the emergence of the *xiaopin* essay was caused by the intention to break the rules of writing the *baguwen*, we cannot sloppily conclude that the *baguwen* and the *xiaopin* essay were genres that are absolutely relative opposites. Basically, authors of *xiaopin* writings were also good at composing the *baguwen*. The case of Wang Siren shows that the development of the two genres was interrelated and their overall negotiations have yet to be further discussed.

a *baguwen* writer since early childhood. The ability to master the technique of 'speaking on behalf of the sage' helped to cultivate Wang Siren's sensitivity of portraying characters during the process of commenting on *Mudan Ting*. Applying the writing techniques of the *baguwen* to writings in other genres and commenting on works in other genres with technical terms of writing the *baguwen* were indeed common in the literati circle of the Ming and Qing dynasties (Huang 2005: 368–369).

B. *Xixiang Ji* and the Playful Eight-legged Essay

'To speak on behalf of the character', as was the common feature of the writing of drama and the *baguwen*, led to a major breakthrough in the content of the *baguwen* during the late Ming and early Qing period. Previous studies have investigated the phenomenon of composing a playful eight-legged essay and the most significant topic was the drama *Xixiang Ji* (Gong 2010: 5; Wu 2016: 505). After You Tong 尤侗（1618–1704) created his 'Zen Dang Ta Linqu Qiubo Na Yi Zhuan'怎當他臨去秋波那一轉 (How Could I Withstand That One Shift of Her Autumn Ripples as She Left), other scholars imitated his work and turned the playful eight-legged essay into the fashion of that time. Some scholars have also noted that the nature of the playful eight-legged essay lies at the intersection of literature and literary criticism and further pointed out that these playful works made certain contributions to the history of Chinese literary criticism (Huang 2011: 58).

If we consider the playful eight-legged essay on *Xixiang Ji* in the realm of the literature in the Ming and early Qing dynasties, then we may notice that this phenomenon is not only an interaction between drama and the *baguwen*, but is also related to the fashion of *yiwen weixi* 以文為戲 (regarded literary work as game-playing) of the time, such as the pseudo-biographies that were found in *Guang Xie Shi* 廣諧史 (Extended History of Laughter) (Chen 1995: 211–216), and Wang Siren's *Yi Lü* 弈律 (The Chess Code), which parodied *Da Ming Lü*大明律 (The Great Ming Code). Despite the fact that most literati in the Ming-Qing dynasties considered the ability to compose the *baguwen* as a means to enter the bureaucracy, the development of

the *baguwen* as a genre still complied with the trends of Ming-Qing literature.

The prerequisites for composing and reading the *youxi baguwen* 遊戲八股 (playful eight-legged essay) is the mutual cultural background between the author and the readers. In other words, in order to find out where the humour lies and to appreciate how the humour works, the readers not only required knowledge of the drama, but they also had to have the ability to master the practices of the *baguwen*. In short, the targeted readers of the playful eight-legged essay on *Xixiang Ji* were limited to the upper-class intellectual, while the ordinary audience of *Xixiang Ji* was rejected from participating in this literary game.

C. Tone and Rhythm in *Li Weng Duiyun* and *Baguwen*

The writing of the *baguwen* emphasised the art of symmetry, with parallel legs and progressive layers. Therefore, when children started to practise writing the *baguwen*, they first had to master the technique of composing *duizi* 對子 (couplets). In *Li Weng Duiyun* 笠翁對韻 (Liweng's On Rhyme and Paired Phrasing), the dramatist and literary critic Li Yu 李漁 (1610–1680) shared the outcome of his long-term training on composing couplets. Experience with writing couplets not only helped one to practise logic and word selection skills, but also to train one's command of mastering *shenglü* 聲律 (tone and rhythm)—mastering *shenglü* was the dramatist's foundation of composing lyrics. Most brilliant dramatists of the Ming and Qing dynasties, such as Shen Jing 沈璟 (1553–1610), Li Yu李玉 (17th century), Li Yu李漁 (1610–1680), Hong Sheng洪昇 (1645–1704) were involved in the imperial examination.

It is noteworthy that although training on rhyme and paired phrasing helped one to master *shenglü*, one's sensitivity to *shengyun* 聲韻 (tone and rhyme) determined whether or not a person could become a successful dramatist. Li Zhi's李贄 modification on *Xixiang Ji*, and Tang Xianzu's 湯顯祖writing on *Mudan Ting* were criticised for not following the rules of rhyming and were labelled as drama for literati (Li 2000: 34).

D. Drama Criticism in *Xianqing Ouji* and *Baguwen*

Some modern scholars have pointed out that Li Yu's drama theory that was found in his *Xianqing Ouji* was under the influence of *baguwen* writing techniques (Zhu 1983: 111; Huang 1996:68–85). They specifically pointed out that '*li zhunao*' 立主腦 (to establish the principle idea), '*mi zhenxian*' 密針線 (to tighten the needle and thread), '*jian touxu*' 減頭緒 (to reduce the main threads)[10] are technical terms that originated from *baguwen* composition, and these terms highlight the influence of the *baguwen* on Li Yu's drama theory (Huang 1996: 79–85). In the history of Chinese drama, however, Li Yu was by no means the first person who was concerned about the structure of drama. In *Nancun Chuogeng Lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Nancun's Notes while Resting from Ploughing), Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329–1410) has recorded the principle of creating drama that was introduced by the Yuan dramatist Qiao Ji 喬吉 (1280–1345):

> [There is] also a principle for composing the *yuefu* [drama], [which can be] named in six [Chinese] characters, [that is,] *fengtou* (the phoenix's head), *zhudu* (the pig's belly) and *baowei* (the leopard's tail). The beginning [of the drama] should be beautiful, the middle [of the drama] should be vast and mighty and the end [of the drama] should be resounding. [Drama,] with a connecting thread from beginning to end and with fresh ideas, is particularly precious. If [a drama] could [be composed] in this way, it could be asserted as a *yuefu* [drama] (Tao 1959: 103).
> 作樂府亦有法，曰鳳頭、豬肚、豹尾六字是也。大槩起要美麗，中要浩蕩，結要響亮，尤貴在首尾貫穿，意思清新。苟能若是，斯可以言樂府矣。

In the Ming dynasty, dramatist Li Kaixian李開先 (1502–1568) inherited from Qiao Ji's principle of composing drama. In *Cixue* 詞謔 (Bantering about Lyrics), he made the following comments：

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[10] Reducing the main threads of a literary work was indeed a literary trend during the late Ming and early Qing period. Literati of the time sought to shorten their literary works and that effort provoked the emergence of *xiaopin* writings and *zhezixi* 折子戲 (arias of individual song).

It is commonly [said that a drama should be] started [like] a poem [and] ended [like] a song. [The end of a drama] is also called the 'leopard's tail'; [the drama] must [end] rapidly and resoundingly [and] withhold meanings that cannot be fully expressed (Li 1959: 996).

世稱詩頭曲尾，又稱豹尾，必須急並響亮，含有餘不盡之意。

According to the comments of Qiao Ji and Li Kaixian, dramatists have noticed that paying attention to structure is the key to composing a good drama. Li Yu has inherited the rules of structuralising dramas. Although Li Yu's theory borrowed terms from the technique of writing the *baguwen*, it is unnecessary to conclude that his theory was solely influenced by the *baguwen*. In 'Zhutan Suoyi Xu' 著壇搜逸敘 (The Preface on the Lost Works Collected by Zhutan), Wang Siren elaborated his principle of selecting outstanding essays:

[It has] been said that selecting the [best eight-legged] essay is like selecting beauty; her face lies in the *poti* (broaching the topic), her neck lies in the *chengti* (carrying forward the topic), her shoulder and chest lie in the *qijiang* (the opening statement), her waist and limbs lie in the segment made up of the eight legs, her feet lie in the *jieshu* (the concluding section), her whole body lies in tall and short, slim and fat, and her appearance and manner are splendid and charming. [It] seems [that she is] far away, [and it] seems [that she is] close, [just like the arguments in the essays] between right and wrong, but overall, [the selection] attaches the most importance to her face. [If] her face is not beautiful, then [her other] superiorities became superfluous! Could there be a person who cannot [master] broaching the topic but can write [a good essay]? (Wang 1977: 463-464).

蓋嘗論之：掄文如選色，其面在破，其頸在承，其肩胸在起，其腰肢在股段，其足在結束，其大體在長短纖肥，神態豔媚，若遠若近，是耶非耶之間，而總之以面為主。面不佳，百佳費解也！豈有不能破而能文者乎？

The concept of comparing the structure of literary work to the parts of the body during the Ming dynasty would be inspired by the

dramatic theory that has developed since the Yuan dynasty. In short, Li Yu's dramatic theory was affected by both the theory of drama and the *baguwen*, while the theory of *baguwen* was also influenced by the theory of drama. It was a two-way influence.

Conclusion: *Baguwen* in the History of Chinese Literature

The aim of this paper is to reveal the diachronic and synchronic importance of *baguwen* in Chinese literary history. The first part considers diachronic importance as the core of discussion. By summarising the results of previous research, I have pointed out that the *baguwen* as a genre has a complex kinship. The stylistic features that lie in the *baguwen* were actually the result of synthesising different stylistic characteristic inherited from various genres. Through the discourse upon *baguwen* by Ming literati including Li Zhi and Wang Siren, we may notice that the Ming literati considered the *baguwen* as the representative among the prevailing genres of the late Ming dynasty. Their attitudes towards *baguwen* run counter to the marginalisation of the *baguwen* in today's literary histories. The second part focuses on the synchronic importance of the *baguwen* and takes the interactions between *baguwen* and *chuanqi* drama as an example. The discussion on *Mudan Ting*, *Xixiang Ji*, *Liweng Duiyun* and *Xianqing Ouji* illustrates the interactions and interdependencies between *baguwen* and drama through their writing skills, content and subject matter, tone and rhyme and negotiation on literary criticism.

Through the case of interactions between the *baguwen* and drama, this paper aims to elaborate upon the interdependence and intervene between the two genres; such interactions with *baguwen* were indeed prevalent among other genres that were flowering in the Ming and Qing dynasties. If we read Ming-Qing literature without the connection of *baguwen*, it would be hard for us to understand the literary works and to sketch the development of different genres. Our knowledge of Ming-Qing literature would become disjointed and fragmented. Composing *baguwen* was a basic skill of the literati of the Ming and Qing dynasties and, therefore, the technical terms of writing the *baguwen* naturally became a common language between intellectuals of the time.

Without the participation of the *baguwen*, the development of literature, as well as literary criticism during the Ming-Qing period, would be completely different from what we know today. Although the genre is once again being included in the literary history after its 'absence' for almost one century, it is still being marginalised in today's literary histories. As time passed by, the *baguwen* became obsolete, yet we still cannot erase its value as an essential genre for the Ming-Qing literature. Although literary dross is readily found in the ocean of *baguwen*, as Li Yu claimed, writers were essentially required to keep showing their new ideas (Li 2000: 24–25) in their *baguwen*. Works of classical literature that we read today, such poetry, prose, fiction and drama, were actually the essences that filtered out from the sea of literary works (Wang 2011: 3). The treasures of the *baguwen* still await discovery by today's readers.

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Модел на идентификация в китайската литература: „Планинци" на Хан Дун

Христина Теодосиева

Abstract

The present paper is going to consider the poem "The Mountain People" of Han Dong as a model of triple identification. The first possible identification is that between the character and his ancestors. It is supposed what would have happened if he were at their place. The difference is in the decisions that they made, but still the possibility that they could have made the same choice is available. This leads to the second identification – with the descendant, who is going to reach the sea. He also would be identical with the character. The last identification is in the end of the poem. This is the counterfactual situation in which the character himself reaches the sea. The main topic of this paper is the question: is it possible to identify one character with himself in an alternative situation? In searching for an answer will be applied David Lewis's theories of counterfactuals and possible worlds.

Keywords: identification, Han Dong, The Mountain People, possible worlds, counterfactuals

Стихотворението „Планинци"[1] (1982 г.) на Хан Дун може да бъде разгледано като модел на тройна идентификация. Отъждествяването на личността с външно положени спрямо нея фактори (идентификация) в текста не е психологизирано и в същото време не е показано като процес, а е представено само в своите крайни точки. Първата възможна идентификация е между героя и предците. Предположено е какво би се случило, ако той би бил на тяхно място. Разликата е осъществена чрез направения избор, но въпреки това самата възможност те да бяха постъпили като него предпоставя една въображаема идентификация. Второто отъждествяване е насочено към наследника – този, който ще достигне морето. Той също би бил тъждествен с лирическия герой.

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[1] Превод на В. Карастойчев.

Последната идентификация е зададена във финала на творбата. Героят си представя, че самият той би могъл да достигне морето, ако някой преди него е направил избора, който той предприема. Основният проблем, който ще бъде разгледан в настоящия текст, е доколко е възможно идентифицирането на Аза със самия него в алтернативната ситуация. Кой в крайна сметка би бил този, който „достига морето"? За да се възприеме подобен подход, трябва да бъде приложена концепцията за възможни светове и контрафактуали. Възможно ли е да идентифицираме един герой като същия спрямо самия него при променени обстоятелства (контрафактуали)?

Хан Дун и модерната поезия

Хан Дун (韩东, роден през 1961 г. в Нанкин) е един от „най-известните поети експериментатори след поколението на Бей Дао" (Карастойчев 2008: 100). Хан Дун може да бъде причислен към т.нар. „Трето поколение поети" (三代诗人), въпреки че това определение не предполага монолитност между своите представители. Напротив, то събира различни движения, свързани с отделни обединения като Фейфей (非非主义) и литературната група „Те" – 他们文学社 (с едноименно списание през 1985–1995 г.), член на която е Хан Дун. Той е и основателят на списанието. Към Третото поколение се числят и отделни поети, които не спадат към никое от посочените поетически общества (Ying 2010: 52). Новите поети идват с бунт спрямо своите предходници, като заявяват, че езикът на поезията трябва да произлиза от живота. Условията, провокиращи техния гняв, са:

„Да се дирят някакви общочовешки идеали, когато след репортажа за стотиците жертви от земетресение по телевизията излъчват реклама за сладолед, за тях е проява на рафиниран цинизъм. Светът се е превърнал в шокиращ пазар на евтини стоки, в края на който, между лъскавите ескалатори и пъстрите реклами, проскърцват прогнилите сергии на изкуството, отрупани с вехти, преоценени предмети." (Карастойчев 2008: 9)

Поради тези причини рязко се случва преминаването от метафора към разказване, от възвишено към обикновено:

> „Без историческия патос и хуманистичната ориентация, новата генерация прегръща ежедневния, градски опит и празнува карнавала, бохемския живот. Вместо метафоричен и лиричен език тя предпочита прозаичния, разговорен език, който е съвсем слабо украсен и дори анти-личен.“ (Chang 2010: 664)

Старите символи и метафори или биват отхвърлени, или придобиват съвсем ново звучене. Такъв е и случаят с образа на морето в поезията на Хан Дун. Той е централен не само в стихотворението „Планинци“, но и в „Ти си виждал морето“. Във втория случай атаката към остарелия символ на морето е по-отчетлива.

> „В дългата поетическа традиция, особено в „мъглявата поезия“, „морето“ е винаги метафора и символ на големи думи като „свобода“, „възвишеност“, „простор“. В тази поема обаче „море“ е извън всякакъв вид метафори и символизации““, настояват Циу Шъцуън и Циу Дзяцуън.

По този начин е отказано влиянието не само на предхождащата китайска литература, но и на европейската романтично-символистична традиция, откъдето е пренесен ореолът на мистичност около образа на морето. Нещо повече – Циу Шъцуън и Циу Дзяцуън смятат, че когато Хан Дун говори за него в „Ти си виждал морето“, той има предвид единствено и само буквално това, което казва: „Море“ е „море“ и „ти“ си „ти“. Няма промяна на същността.“ (Qiu and Qiu 2016: 133)

По подобен начин може да бъде разчетено морето и в стихотворението „Планинци“. Хан Дун добавя към образа представата за „другото“ – то е просто онова, което е отвъд планините: нещото, до което героят няма да достигне. Подобни похвати са характерни за поетите от Третото поколение:

„Както по форма, така и по съдържание, те отхвърлят об-
вързването с култура, история, идеология и естетика, която е
доминирала в предишните поколения.“ (Ying 2010: 53)

Поетите от тази група изменят езика и изобретяват нови „из-
мерения на ритъм и значение“ (Ying 2010: 53). Възгледите на
Хан Дун за поезията се оказват значими и влиятелни за много от
младите поети в този период. Според Хун Дзичън „неговата (*на
Хан Дун*) добре позната пропозиция, че „поезията приключва в
думите“[2] е противоположна на ролята на „изразяването на ис-
торическата истина“, предприета от „мъглявите“ поети, както и
тяхната силна социална съзнателност.“ (Zicheng 2007: 365)

„Планинци“

Стихотворението „Планинци“ е публикувано за първи път
1982 г. Това се случва тъкмо когато авторът завършва Шандун-
ския университет, три години преди да стане редактор на спи-
санието „Те“ и е едно от сравнително ранните му произведения,
въпреки че вече е придобил слава като поет. Именно затова може
да бъде предположено, че някои от по-крайните похвати, кои-
то използва в по-късните си творби, отсъстват. Също така това
вероятно е причината образът на морето да не се е отърсил до
крайна степен от употребите в предхождащите го течения и на-
правления. „Ти си виждал морето“ е публикувано две години
по-късно. Темата за морето и желанието за него е изключително
сходна в двете произведения. В същото време централният об-
раз в по-късната творба е десакрализиран в още по-голяма сте-
пен и всички романтически оттенъци около него са отхвърлени.

В стихотворението „Планинци“ говорителят разказва исто-
рията на лирическия персонаж, назован единствено като „той“.
Текстът разгръща картина на вероятностите за бъдещите деца и
внуци на героя, които ще извървяват пътя от планините към мо-
рето. Финалът поставя невъзможната алтернатива – какво би се
случило, ако не „той“, а неговите предшественици, бяха поели
по същия този път. По този начин това първо отъждествяване

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[2] 诗到语言为止. Друг възможен превод: „Поезията не напуска думите/езика“.

се явява необходимо и достатъчно условие, за да може „той" да бъде поставен при променените условия и да се стигне до контрафактуалната идентификация.

Кой (се) идентифицира?

Разликата между „идентификация" и „идентифициране" е в това кой извършва действието.[3] В първия случай това е самият индивид/художествен персонаж, към когото се отнася действието. Той отъждествява себе си с друг човек, група или социална роля и придобива съответните характеристики. Когато става въпрос за „идентифициране", някой външен на двойката, установява съвпаденията и определя вършителите като идентични. Съответно глаголът, който се използва, се различава по това дали е във възвратна форма или не: при „идентификация" героят „се идентифицира", а при „идентифициране" – някой „идентифицира" героите. В стихотворението „Планинци" са налични и двата случая. От една страна са представени мислите на самия герой, който предполага, че би бил идентичен с предшествениците, последователите или със самия себе си. В същото време говорителят, който се явява външен за това отъждествяване, също вероятно потвърждава и идентифицира героя. Текстуалното доказателство е в това, че мислите на героя са преразказани и не присъства директна „аз"-форма.

Възможните светове

Основното твърдение на настоящия доклад е, че при наличието на контрафактуал („лирическият герой е достигнал морето"), може да бъде разгледан възможен свят, в който „той" няма да съвпада напълно със себе си и идентифицирането му като героя в произведението ще бъде проблематично. Употребата на понятията „контрафактуал" и „възможни светове" следва да бъде по-подробно разгледана. Под контрафактуал следва да

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[3] Подробно разглеждам разграничението между „идентификация" и „идентифициране" в текста си „Идентификация на тленното с вечното в „Небесната търговска улица" на Гуо Можуо (под печат: УИ „Паисий Хилендарски").

се разбира контрафактическо условно твърдение за ситуация, която е била възможна в действителността, но не се е случила. Дейвид Люис говори за два типа контрафактуали: такива, които „биха" се случили и такива, които „можеха" да се случат. Условието е възможните светове, в които те участват, да са достатъчно сходни с актуалния. (Lewis 1973: 19–24) Такъв е и случаят с финала на „Планинци". Възможният свят се разкрива в стиха: „тогава сигурно той щеше пръв да зърне морето".

Люис определя възможните светове по следния начин:

> „Аз вярвам в съществуването на същности, които могат да бъдат наречени „начинът по който нещата биха могли да бъдат". Предпочитам да ги наричам „възможни светове". (Lewis 1973: 86)

Именно такъв е и настоящият случай – нещата такива, каквито биха могли да бъдат са представени в последните два стиха на произведението. Люис заявява, че за него възможните светове не са само лингвистични същности: „Когато настоявам за реализъм[4] по отношение на възможните светове, имам предвид това да бъде разбирано буквално" (Lewis 1973: 85). На въпроса на опонент какво представляват възможните светове, Люис отвръща с молбата: „...да приеме, че е наясно какво представлява нашия актуален свят и тогава да си обясни другите светове като неща от същия тип, различни не по същност, а по това какво се случва в тях" (Lewis 1973: 85). Това твърдение е възможно да бъде приложено до някаква степен в конкретната ситуация, но с уговорката, че настоящият труд не се обвързва с онтологически ангажимент за природата на литературните светове. Нещата, които знаем в определено произведение, са с точно определен брой. Следователно контрафактуалите, които се построяват на тяхната база, също са ограничени. Така условният свят, който се разглежда, ще има своите параметри: подобен на представения

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4   В случая „реализъм" е в смисъла на „модален реализъм". Тази употреба е характерна за философски теории в полето на съвременната онтология и разглеждането на възможните светове. Модален реализъм е допускането, че действително е възможно подобно положение на нещата.

в текста, но с преобърнати възможности. По този начин може да се анализира „Планинци“ – разглеждат се само фактите, които се знаят за света на лирическия герои и неговото положение в него, и се търсят отговорите след тяхното преобръщане в противоположната ситуация. От изложеното дотук става ясно, че настоящата употреба на понятието „възможен свят“, отнесено към художествено произведение (ако героят беше в други обстоятелства), само частично ще съвпада със смисъла, вложен от Люис.

Отъждествяване с предците

Първото отъждествяване в текста е това между героя и неговите предци. То почива на концепцията за вероятностите и е въведено с условност. Тази идентификация е двойствена, защото е едновременно приета и отхвърлена. В художествената реалност тя не е се е случила: „той просто съжали задето/ предците не са се замисляли като него“. Следователно е предпоставена и обратната вероятност – да го бяха направили. Именно тогава: „…сигурно той щеше пръв да зърне морето“. Единственото, което разделя индивида от желанието му, е различието с предците, или направеният избор. Отъждествяването с тях става възможно заради сходните условия, в които се намират. Цялото стихотворение е изградено на основата на безкрайната, повтаряща се цикличност. Това е и част от поетическата стратегия, която е избрана: „синът ще е пораснал вече/ синът ще се ожени/ ще има свой син /и синът на сина ще има син“. Именно по този начин повторението на един и същи модел без изменение прави въведените персонажи еднакви. Дали става въпрос за лирическия Аз или за сина на неговия син, на пръв поглед изглежда незначително. По този начин всички случвания и вършители стават тъждествени. Единствената разлика настъпва във финала на произведението: все пак един би достигнал морето. Събитието се разгръща не в актуалния, а във възможен свят. Вероятно се отнася за наследника – синът на сина, но е било възможно това да бъде и самият лирически персонаж. Оттук следва и втората идентификация – с наследника.

Идентификация с наследника

Отъждествяването със „сина на сина" изглежда още по-далечно, тъй като дори съществуването му е поставено под въпрос. Употребата на 会 в текста предполага почти сигурно, естествено предстоящо случване. В някакъв смисъл тя едновременно реферира към бъдещето, но и изказва предположение. Героят, който сам е поставен в ситуация на промяна, предполага континуалност на разбиранията, условията и желанията у своя правнук. Парадоксалното в случая е, че дори разчупването на цикличността води към затваряне на кръга. Промяната е само в обстоятелствата, но вършителите остават тъждествени един спрямо друг. Това води към другата ключова тема на настоящото разглеждане – а именно идентификация на вършител със съответен на него в контрафактуал. Под контрафактуал следва да се разбира контрафактическо условно твърдение за ситуация, която е била възможна в действителността, но не се е случила. Дейвид Люис говори за два типа контрафактуали: такива, които „биха" се случили, и такива, които „можеха" да се случат. Условието е възможните светове, в които те участват, да са достатъчно сходни с актуалния. (Lewis 1973: 19–24) Такъв е и случаят с финала на „Планинци". Възможният свят се разкрива в стиха: „тогава сигурно той щеше пръв да зърне морето".

Контрафактуална идентификация

Третият случай на идентификация е на лирическия „той" със самия него във възможна друга ситуация. Този, който пита за морето, мечтае за него и иска да го достигне, всъщност може да бъде „виделия морето". Първото, което е казано за лирическия персонаж, е: „като беше малък, той попита баща си/ „какво има отвъд планината?"". В условната ситуация, в която героят е достигнал морето, той се оказва отвъд планината. Следователно този въпрос няма как да бъде зададен или поне не от същата гледна точка. В този случай перспективата ще бъде напълно сменена – от страната на морето. В същото време обаче „той" отново би виждал планините. Ако въпросът все пак се зададе, какво би се случило? Отговорът би трябвало да бъде съ-

щият: „планина“, отвърна бащата“. Целият смисъл на питането обаче би бил различен. Значението на морето в текста е обвързано с промяната, новото към което се стреми лирическият „той“. То се превръща в един сложен символ, от една страна запазил част от старата си функция на утопичност, но от друга – цялата идея за новост в него вече е противоположна – в много по-голяма степен буквална.

Обърнатата гледна точка поставя героя от страната на морето и ако „той“ попита „какво има отвъд планината?“, то вече по-скоро ще търси отговори за миналото. Следователно лирическият „той“ в стихотворението и този от контрафактуала едновременно ще съвпадат един с друг и в същото време – няма. Въпросът може да бъде зададен, но целта на питането ще бъде различна. Ако се приеме, че първите редове на текста все пак биха могли да се повторят и в двете ситуации, то следващият: „за първи път планината го бе изтощила“ е силно разколебан. Дали миналото би го изтощило по същия начин, ако вече беше в различна ситуация? Повторяемостта на „планини, все планини“ би била същата, но ще носи различно значение за лирическия „той“. Когато тези планини са зад гърба му, тяхното значение – очакването да бъдат преминати, вече отсъства. Тогава и умората би била породена от друго, ако изобщо съществува.

Това, което със сигурност не би било същото за героя във възможния свят, е: „замисли се как цял живот не ще я изброди“. Това е и първото доказателство, че „той“ не е идентичен на себе си при променените обстоятелства. Следващите стихове, пресъздаващи неговите мисли и представи, също не биха били възможни, ако вече е достигнал морето. Те могат да се отнасят единствено към миналото, като преразказани спомени на тези, които са извървели пътя. Следователно лирическият „той“ вече не би могъл да бъде този, който си представя или мечтае. Не би бил и този, за когото е казано „мисълта за синовете също го изтощи“ – измореният както от настоящето, което е път без изход, така и отегченият от мечтаенето и въобразяването на възможно бъдеще.

За да се каже, че „той“ от стихотворението и „той“ във възможния свят съвпадат, трябва да има механизъм за тяхното идентифициране. В крайна сметка обаче дали лирическият персонаж

в контрафактуала също би бил герой на стихотворението, може да бъде поставено под въпрос. Но това е единственото сигурно нещо, което се знае – „той" е главният герой в произведението „Планинци". Ако не бъде изправен пред въпросите за другото, далечното и непознатото, ако вече не смята, че животът му е път без изход, дали изобщо би съществувало такова стихотворение?

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Приложение:

ПЛАНИНЦИ
Хан Дун

Като беше малък, той попита баща си
„какво има отвъд планината?“
„пак планина“, отвърна бащата
„а още по-нататък?“
„планини, все планини“
той се смълча, загледан далече
за първи път планината го бе изтощила

мислеше как цял живот не ще я изброди
а някъде морето съществува, но е тъй далече
той няма да живее сто години
и преди да достигне морето
ще умре насред пътя
ще умре в планината

хрумна му да тръгне заедно с жена си
тя син ще му роди
и щом дойде време да умира
синът ще е пораснал вече
синът ще се ожени също
ще си има син
и синът на сина ще има син
той спря дотук
мисълта за синовете също го изтощи

той просто съжали задето
предците не се бяха замисляли като него
тогава сигурно той щеше пръв да зърне морето

The Tomb and the Shield: Ekphrastic Readings of Xunzi, Homer and Mei Sheng

Martin Svensson Ekström

Abstract

This paper takes as its starting point some rudimentary, naïve or at least faux-naif observations. It revolves around three texts that all are in one way or another exhaustively detailed in their non-figurative descriptions of objects, events and circumstances. I use the word 'description' not merely because it is relatively neutral but because I believe it represents the 'core' of the concepts of fu 賦 *and ekphrasis. Similarly, I believe that an essential part of both concepts is that they, within their respective discourses, represent the opposite of xing* 興 *and metaphora, i.e. the opposite of figurative or 'metaphorical' uses of language. By letting these three texts from widely different contexts react with each other, I hope to shed some light on what connects and separates them with reference to the representational and narratological strategies they employ.*

Keywords: Fu (rhapsody); ekphrasis; Xunzi; Aristotle; Quintilian; comparative literature.

1.

Although I am mildly allergic to the term, this paper undeniably belongs to the academic genre of comparative literature. Something should be said, therefore, about why and how we 'compare'. Why read these figureheads (Xunzi, Homer, Mei Sheng, Aristotle) of the Chinese and Western traditions together? One answer is that it is my conviction that a Western reader, as a methodological and hermeneutical principle, ought to read the Chinese texts *deeply* from within the Western tradition. It is not enough to read the Chinese texts themselves, even if one concentrates on the smaller units and then cautiously contextualizes. Nor does it suffice simply to be aware of, for example, the 'metaphysical' roots and entanglements of a term such as *metaphora* in contrast to the 'cosmological' roots of

the term *xing* 興, particularly since such binarisms and macro-level comparisons are likely to lead the reader astray.

In the case of Aristotle's concept *metaphora* (to continue with the same example), a much more intense engagement with the text — or, more precisely, raw texture — of the *Poetics* is needed to understand the full implications and ramification thereof for, let us say, our understanding of 'the metaphorical' in Mao Heng's 毛亨 tropological readings of the *Shijing* and their roots in Xunzi. An analysis of the 'raw texture' tries to expose the gristle before it is transformed into bone; it places equal emphasis on historical contextualization and rhetorical analysis in that it aims to understand how, in this case, Aristotle grapples both with the contemporary philosophical terminology and, on a larger scale, with the Greek language to conceptualize what he chooses to call a linguistic 'transfer' or 'transportation' (*metaphora*), and how this struggle produces a concept that is still preliminary, sketchy, and full of contradictions which open up the *Poetics* to its Chinese 'countertexts'.

2.

In Mei Sheng's poem "Qi fa" "Seven Stimuli" or, perhaps, "Seven Attempts to Rise Up"—we find both what I would call a primal scene of the *fu*-genre and a metapoetic statement about the function of the *fu*. The narrator of the poem visits a debauched prince who, due to his hedonistic lifestyle, is ill at health. The poet takes great effort to describe the physical location of his interlocutor. The prince, as befits a son of the aristocracy, resides "in a palace" 宮居, but the poet immediately qualifies this general statement with more detailed, and increasingly claustrophobic, descriptions of the dark rooms inhabited by the sickly, decadent prince. We are first told that the prince "dwells in the palace's boudoirs" 閨處; then, in "cave-like chambers" 洞房; and, thirdly, that he enjoys "pleasures and Bacchanalian banquets unrestrained in small chambers and hidden rooms" 游醮縱恣於曲房隱間之中 (Fei 1993: 17–28).[1]

This, then, is the primal scene that this proto-*fu* enacts. The poet enters the dark palatial chambers as a messenger from the outside. It

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[1] All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

is his task, in the seven instalments to which the title refers, to make the prince "rise" from his sick-bed, and he does so by describing in exhaustive detail what is absent in his life, namely the wonders of the world outside those stuffy, decadent rooms. The words of the *fu*-poet are thus invested with the greatest of powers, they are not merely rhetorically persuasive but also curative.

3.

The question of ekphrasis – a 'detailed description of a visual work of art' – is both more complex a question than this neat formulation lets on, and the site of a terminological and methodological confusion. Let me begin with the latter assertion, by which I foremost mean that the theory or concept of ekphrasis is often, but should not be, confused with the *practice* of detailed oral or written descriptions of visual art. Neither the description in the *Iliad* of the shield wrought by Hephaestus nor, more obviously, Xunzi's description of the ritual objects used to furnish the graves in the third century B.C. was composed as an exercise in the genre of ekphrasis, and if this distinction between concept and practice is not maintained we risk imposing much later topics upon these early texts.

For instance – and this readily illustrates the simultaneous vagueness and complexity of the concept – scholars often point out that when the term first appeared in the rhetorical handbooks called Progymnasmata in the first century A.D., it referred to oral or written 'descriptions' of any of a variety of objects but with the explicit aim of "clearly-and-vividly putting what is indicated before the eyes" (*enargôs hup'opsin agôn to dêloumenon*) of the listener or reader (Zanker 1981: 297–31). We immediately note the tendency toward 'intermediality' in the above words of the rhetorician Theon, as he, if his words are taken literally, is here describing a properly monstrous and quasi-magical activity that takes place in the medium of written or spoken language but has the ability to materialize *to dêloumenon* (that which is 'described' or 'made visible') in the form of a visual or even tactile object.

My primary aim is thus not to conduct an inquiry into the history of the concept of ekphrasis, but rather to use the fissured, bifurcated

term 'ekphrasis' as an analytical tool. And in the Western tradition, I would distinguish between the following two uses of the term.

I. There is, on the one hand, the original, *oratorical* ekphrasis of the Progymnasmata, with the goal of captivating an audience through clear, vivid and detailed descriptions of events and objects. We find a paradigmatic example in the forensic ekphrasis referred to by Quintilian, where the orator *qua* prosecutor wins his audience over by graphic descriptions of the gory details of a murder scene (Quintilian 2002: 60). "Will I not," asks Quintilian, "as I am lamenting a murdered man, have everything before my eyes (*in oculis habebo*) that reasonably would have happened in the case?" Quintilian is here explicitly praising the faculty of *phantasia* ('intense imagination') and the orator who, although not having been present at the scene of the crime, has the ability to 'vividly imagine' the violent action that led to the death of the slain man: "Will I not see (*non...videbo*) the cutting down of the man and his collapsing on the ground?" And from this ability to imagine past events with near hallucinatory clarity follows (*insequetur*) the *enargeia* with which the orator's descriptions, according to Quintilian, are infused, and which is the hallmark of what I call oratorical ekphrasis.

Let us elaborate slightly on this concept. "What distinguishes [oratorical] *ekphrasis*," writes Ruth Webb, "is its quality of vividness, *enargeia*" and its "impact on an audience" (Webb 2009:). Indeed, the close ties between, and sometimes synonymity of, ekphrasis and *enargeia* are confirmed by several passages in the Progymnasmata, but I would like to forefront two aspects of the term in question. Webb's translation of *enargeia* as "vividness" is quite correct, but the source of this ekphrastic vividness is rather the clarity – the visual clarity – indicated by the Greek *argos* ("shine"), from which the word *enargeia* is derived, and which further underscores the ekphrastic endeavour of bringing the subject matter visibly in front of the mind's eye. The importance of the privileged position allotted to the faculty of vision in the Progymnasmata, and their faith in vision's ability to convey the truth, cannot be overestimated. Both vision and language itself come across as reliable and largely unproblematic in early writings on ekphrasis as well as in the metapoetics of the

fu, in contrast to the phantasmatic representational logic behind the colossal statues described in Plato's the *Sophist*, the phenomenon of the illusion-inducing stick immersed in water in the *Republic*, the topic of *si er fei* 似而非 in early Chinese thought, and (with reference to language) the ambiguous and contradictory words such as *sklerôtes* discussed in Plato's *Cratylus* (Ekström 2017).

A third aspect of *enargeia*–exhaustive detailedness–is identified by the orator Demetrius, who most likely predated Theon by at least a century, and according to whom *enargeia* comes "from exactness in description, and from neither omitting anything nor excising anything (*ex akribologias kai tou paraleipein mêden mêd'ektemnein*)." What Demetrius associates with *enargeia* is thus complete exactitude in diction (*akribologia*) and all-inclusiveness in representation and description, which resounds with one of the most important sources of *fu*-poetics, namely Yang Xiong's biography in the *Hanshu*, and with the genre of *fu* in general. What I call oratorical ekphrasis is thus first and foremost a concept coined and used by the authors of the Progymnasmata to refer to a style characterized by *enargeia* in the sense of visual clarity, detailedness and vividness.

II. On the other hand, there is what may be called an *intermedial* and *literary* ekphrasis, such as the "Shield" episode in the *Illiad*, or Xunzi's tomb ekphrasis, both of which are driven by rather different motives than the goal of mesmerizing or persuading an audience, and whose stylistic traits or rhetorical function cannot be satisfactorily explained by the concept of *enargeia* alone.

But what are the importance and the theoretical ramifications of intermedial ekphrasis? As we know, Homer's "Shield" is a description and representation of the images engraved upon the shield that the blacksmith Hephaestus is said to have made for Achilles, and Xunzi's passage on the Zhou tombs is similarly a description and representation not simply of the ritual funerary goods with which those tombs were furnished but, equally important, of the *arrangement* of those objects and the *representational logic* of that arrangement. The 'intermediality' of such ekphrasis resides in the fact that they represent in the medium of language another pre-existing representation – factual or imagined – that took place in a

non-linguistic medium such as engraving, painting, sculpture or the ritualized 'installation art' of the Zhou tombs.

The intermediality of ekphrasis thus interests us primarily because a representation of a representation necessarily plays out on two separate but interconnected levels: there is the author's representation of the work of art and the representation of objects and events in the work of art itself. We may therefore speak about a first and second author (or artist) and, correspondingly, a primary and a secondary representation, and it is the relationship between the two levels that concerns us. For example, with reference to my reading below, I shall argue that there is a significant difference between the primary and the secondary representations in Xunzi's ekphrastic description of funerary objects in Zhou dynasty tombs.

4.

If we use the categories proposed above, it is clear that Quintilian and Mei Sheng's "Qi fa" belong to the first group. We find here a noteworthy reversal in the hierarchy of tropes. Whilst metaphorical language is frequently praised for its wondrous and often bizarre couplings of heterogeneous phenomena, it is nonetheless the plain, literal and non-figurative language acts referred to as *fu* or *ekphrasis* (more exactly "oratorical ekphrasis") that are described as endowed with the magical ability to cure the sick and have the described objects appear "before the eyes" of the listener or reader. Although time does not permit me to develop this in any depth, we should note a curious little quip made by Quintilian in the passage discussed above. The ability to "phantasize well" (to be *euphantasiôtos*) is, he says, a "defect of the mind" (*animi vitium*). Quintilian thus associates *enargeia* and *phantasia*, and thereby the entire ekphrastic tradition, with the lack of reason; with, we may venture to say, the unconscious, with madness and with producing and indulging in hallucinations. Again, this underscores the reversal alluded to above. If we recall Aristotle's definition of *metaphora* as based on the ability to "perceive the likeness" (*to homoion theorein*) between things that are apparently different, then metaphor – despite the blatant absurdity of calling, for instance, a man a swine – comes across as a

product of a sane and rational process of observation, cognition and conceptualization. Non-figurative language, on the other hand, is, or can be, the hallmark of madness.

5.

We now turn to two texts that arguably are ekphrastic in that they both are, as I put it above, "exhaustively detailed in their non-figurative descriptions of objects, events and circumstances." But their primary aim is neither to persuade an audience, nor cure the sick, nor make their audience 'see' that which is absent. In the 'ekphrastic' passage from Xunzi's "Discourse on Rituality" and in the *Shield* episode of the *Illiad* we find instead ekphrasis in the sense of a representation of a representation. Despite this shared characteristic, I hope to indicate some fundamental differences between the Chinese and the Greek text with reference to the construction of a narrative, to fictionality, and to the interaction between the linguistic and non-linguistic representation.

In the "Discourse on Rituality" ("Lilun" 禮論) there appears a long passage of great beauty and of great interest for philosophy, aesthetics and the philosophy of language, namely Xunzi's analysis of ancient burial rituals and the construction and decoration of tombs. I have elsewhere argued that the logic that governs Xunzi's argument here is that of *si er fei* 似而非. "To look like something in outward appearance without actually being that thing" is an important theme in early Chinese philosophy, and we find it in Mozi, Mencius and the *Lüshi chunqiu*, among others. In its normal setting, the theme of *si er fei* 似而非 is neither particularly complex nor particularly exciting. What these philosophers draw our attention to is simply the everyday experience of misidentification, of mistaking 'this' for 'that' because of a superficial resemblance between the two things. An efficient ruler, for instance, must be able to distinguish between a truly competent official and one who merely *appears si* 似 to be competent; that is, between the real thing and the fake, or between the *junzi* 君子 and the *weijunzi* 偽君子.

What is so fascinating with the concept (or 'trope') of *si er fei* 似而非 is that the experience of mistaking one thing for another on basis

of their outward similarity, an experience ordinarily to be avoided or at least mastered, may be *put to good use* in a ritual context as a way of speaking an extraordinary truth.

This is precisely what happens in this passage. Xunzi says that "in shape, the tomb represents [or 'imitates'] a house" 壙壟其貌象室屋, and he describes in great detail how a tomb should be built like an ordinary house and furnished with things resembling those the deceased used while alive (Xunzi 1998: 368–71). But there is one crucial difference: these quotidian articles – items of clothing, musical instruments, bamboo utensils – should all be rendered *useless* through an inconspicuous but fatal flaw in their construction or preparation. The pottery items, for instance, should not be hollowed out; the musical instruments should not be tuned in concert with each other; the clay objects should be left unfinished and "not shaped into usable things." These objects, Xunzi says several times, have "appearance but no use" (*mao er bu gong* 貌而不功 and *mao er bu yong* 貌而不用). The tomb and the objects with which it is furnished is thus an imitation (*xiang* 象) of an ordinary house for the living. Or, to be more correct, the tomb *appears* to be an ordinary house but is not. It is in this sense that the tomb is an enactment of the 'trope' of *si er fei* 似而非.

But *why* should the mourner construct a tomb that is a "useless" replica of a house? Deceptive appearances, or *si er fei* 似而非, pose, as we know, a serious problem in early Chinese philosophical texts (as they do in Plato). One answer is that the specious, flawed objects with which the tomb is furnished *speak*. In Xunzi's parlance, they "announce that they are not for use" *gao bu yong* 告不用. By destroying a quotidian object, or by allowing it to remain half-finished, it becomes a sign, in the semiotic sense of the word. The flawed object communicates that is useless, but it also – although this is only implied by Xunzi – represents or imitates that startling 'thing' for which the tomb is constructed, namely the corpse. The corpse is precisely a 'thing' that has "appearance but no use."

The tomb as described by Xunzi is, for lack of a better word, a piece of installation art, and, as such, a representation or conceptualization of death – or, to be more precise, of the corpse. Similarly, the act of viewing the funerary objects, which at a distance look like ordinary and usable objects but at a closer look are revealed

to be useless imitations, is a repetition of the shocking and painful moment of watching a living body expire and transform into an object that resembles the once living person but is not he or she.

6.

The Xunzian passage that we have discussed above is ekphrastic in that it is a non-figurative, language-based representation of a visual representation. We note, firstly, the representational complexity of the Xunzian tomb. At first, the flawed funerary objects represent their counterparts in the world of the living, but in such a way that they, in Xunzi's words, "announce that they are not for use." Then, in a second round of mimesis, they represent the dead body, whose richness in appearance but paucity in substance and use are what they share.

Secondly, with reference to the interplay between what I have called primary and secondary representation in intermedial ekphrasis, we note that Xunzi's ekphrastic description of funerary objects in Zhou dynasty tombs is unironic and to be taken at face value, whereas the objects themselves are signs that are represented in an ironic manner, i.e. by deviating from their habitual and conventional meaning. I spoke above of a reversal in the hierarchy of tropes, with the plain, non-figurative *fu* and ekphrasis gaining the upper hand over the flamboyant metaphor with regard to 'outlandish' poetic powers. Here, something very similar to a metaphorical shift, or transfer of meaning, occurs, as the funerary objects gain a new meaning by being manipulated and damaged. Being destroyed, they suddenly *begin to speak*, and communicate the truth of death.

This part of Xunzi's "Lilun" is thus an ekphrastic account of the 'event' of death, and simultaneously, on a metapoetic level, an account of the origins and function of metaphorical language. And on this metapoetic level, the corpse itself becomes the ultimate figure of figural language.

7.

In chapter 18 of the *Iliad*, we find Thetis, the mother of Achilles, saying that she will go to Hephaestus to have him make a shield, a helmet, a breastplate to grieve for her son. In the passage that follows,

Achilles retrieves the body of his beloved friend Patroclus, slain by the Trojan Hector, and swears to avenge his death. Then, in line 368, the narrator returns to Thetis, and her arrival at Hephaestus' workshop on Mount Olympus, after which commences the description of the images that Hephaestus has engraved onto the shield:

> On it he [Hephaestus] wrought [*poiêse*] two cities of mortal men
> beautiful [cities], and there were weddings in one, and feasts.
> They were leading the brides along the city from their maiden chambers
> under the flaring of torches, and the loud bride song was arising.
> The young men were dancing in circles, and among them
> the pipes and the lyres kept up their clamour as in the meantime the women,
> standing each at the door of the courtyard, admired them.
> The people were gathered together in the assembly place, and there a dispute
> had arisen, and two men were disputing about the blood-price
> for a man who had died. The one made a claim to pay back in full,
> declaring publicly to the district, but the other was refusing to accept anything.
> Both were heading for an arbitrator, to get a limit;
> and the people were speaking up on either side, to help both men.
> But the heralds kept the people in hand, as meanwhile elders
> were seated on benches of polished stone in a sacred circle
> and took hold in their hands of sceptres from the heralds who lift their voices.
> And with these they sprang up, taking turns, and rendered their judgments,
> and in their midst lay on the ground two weights of gold,
> to be given to the one among them who pronounced a judgment most correctly.
> (Nagy 2003: 74, lines 490-508; transl. modif.)

The description of the images engraved onto the Shield extends over more than one hundred lines in which there is a terrific battle scene as well as a scene depicting farmers peacefully ploughing a field. There is, furthermore, a scene from a kingdom in which happy people gather crops in autumn; there are young men and women working in a vineyard; there is a scene in which cattle are being driven by herdsmen, another that shows young men and women dancing – all framed by and encircled by the mighty river *Okéanos*.

I shall indicate three areas in which Homer's ekphrasis differs from Xunzi's.

First, in the epic of the *Iliad*, the images wrought by Hephaestus constitute subnarratives and a foil to the ensuing battle scene in which Achilles kills Hector, and then desecrates his corpse. This narrative construction is, for obvious reasons, wholly different from the rhetorical logic of the Xunzian passage.

Secondly, let us consider Homer's description of the two men quarrelling about the compensation for the death of a third man. It can hardly be a 'realistic' description of a static image engraved on a bronze artefact, since the actions described are too complex and stretched out in time – for instance, to represent the elders delivering their judgements *amoibêdis* ("taking turns" or "in succession") would reasonably require several separate depictions by Hephaestus' hand. I propose that we refer to this aspect of the *Shield* as hyperrealism, in the sense of a 'realistic', detailed description that is *extended* and *excessive*, which serves both to induce illusion in the listener (by drawing him or her into the narrative of the extended description) and to break that illusion (by extending the description beyond what in this particular instance is believable, thus showcasing its fictionality).

Thirdly, there is no difference in *rhetorical modality* between the primary and the secondary representation. Both Homer's description of the images on the shield and the images themselves are 'zero-level' representations, and thus to be taken at face value. In this sense, the Xunzian passage above is significantly more complex with its interaction between the ironical and non-ironical – or, indeed, between the 'metaphorical' and 'ekphrastic'. With reference to Lessing's 1766 essay on the limits-and-borders (*Grenze*) of painting and poetry, discussions of the difference between the primary and the secondary representations in the *Shield* and similar 'intermedial' ekphrasis have typically dealt with which aspects of the human experience are more efficiently represented by poetry, or the plastic arts. Not only is this a question largely irrelevant to what I call oratorical ekphrasis, but it is, interestingly, also wholly irrelevant to the Xunzian passage. The mode of 'language' of the broken funerary objects is efficient not because it is of the plastic arts, and thus belong to the visual realm, but because it consciously deviates from a conventionally accepted norm; because, again, it enacts the experience of *si er fei* 似而非.

8.

Let us return, finally, to the question of why one should do comparative studies.

As we can see, the 'comparison' of Xunzian and Homeric intermedial ekphrasis only goes so far. But the advantage of doing comparative literature is that certain traits become visible that otherwise would have been left in the dark. Also, we see the internal tensions within the Western tradition, such as the enormous difference between oratorical and intermedial ekphrasis, but we also see unexpected synergies. Quintilian's surprising and ambiguous celebration of *phantasia* as a "defect of the mind" is, arguably, what unites the hallucinatory realism of oratorical ekphrasis and the 'magical' realism of the intermedial ekphrasis of Homer's *Shield*. It is arguably also what unites the ekphrastic tradition with Mei Sheng's metapoetic description *fu*-poetry as having the power and the task to describe the absent objects of the world so vividly that its audience may rise from the sick bed.

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Неофициалните печатни издания – главната медия на модерната поезия в Китай през 80-те години на XX в.

Веселин Карастойчев

Abstract

This paper is dedicated to unofficial poetry editions in the 1980s in China, where modern poetry exists in a situation of difficult and untimely publication. The stages of evolution of the phenomenon are examined and some common statements are being revised.

Keywords: modern Chinese poetry, underground literature, avant-garde, unofficial journals

Получих обратно своите ръкописи: десет еднотипни броя в сунски почерк
пощальонът фуражка нахлупи и сред звън изчезна мълчешком
...
в писмото пише: другарю еди-кой си,
почтително се запознахме с Вашите творби.
но поради тез и тез причини
те не бяха одобрени за печат...
Хан Уей, „Отказ за публикуване“

Приблизително от 60-те години до наши дни в Китай съществува особен конгломерат от автори, поетики, текстове, читатели и литературни тълкуватели, наричан с множество различни имена: *скрито писане* (潜在写作), *ъндърграунд* (地下), *неофициална,(*非官方), *неформална* (非主流), *неофициозна* (民间), *авангардна* (先锋), *експериментална* (实验), *маргинална* (边缘) литература и съответно поезия или *втори поетически свят* (第二诗界), както го назовава Джоу Луън-йоу (Джоу 1986). В този текст предпочитаме употребата на понятието *модерен поетически дискурс*, а горепосочените термини възприемаме като отличителни черти на неговото функциониране.

Характерна особеност на китайския *модерен поетически дискурс* е *несвоевременната публичност*, т.е. затрудненото и закъсняло достигане на текстовете до читателската аудитория. Дори когато в един момент това се случва, често не може да се говори за публикация в точния смисъл на думата – нюанс, който на китайски е доловим в разликата между 发表 (правя публично достояние) и 出版 (издавам, публикувам официално)[1]. Официалните издания действат като трибуни на пролетарската естетика и са все още слабо пропускливи към стихове с алтернативна поетика, с изключение на някои удобни произведения от т.нар. *поезия на забулената луна* (朦胧诗)[2], които заемат отредените за нова поезия страници. Редакторите предпазливо отклоняват предложените ръкописи и неслучайно отказът за публикация често се тематизира в творчеството на новите поети, какъвто е случаят с цитираното по-горе стихотворение от Хан Уей. Той и неговите събратя търсят нови канали на разпространение.

Единият от тях е рецитацията и предаването от уста на уста – всъщност най-ранната форма на поетически акт, при което поетът (говорителят) включва и извънезикови средства за въздействие – поза, жестове, мимика и т.н. Особено важна е неформалната атмосфера и обстановка на поетическите събирания, където поетите изпробват акустично своя нов стихотворен език, пречистват го от примесите на фалш и позьорство, премахват орнаментиката на „кулата от слонова кост" (както често презрително наричат *поезията на забулената луна*) и в крайна сметка изпробват концептуалната си правота. Рецитирането разкрива стихотворни качества, недостъпни при четене на писмен текст, особено що се отнася до творчеството на поетите от Съчуан. Става дума за звученето и мелодиката на местния диалект, „оживяващи" единствено при декламиране поради сериозните различия с произносителните норми на книжовния китайски език.

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[1] На немски подобна семантична разлика се наблюдава между veröffentlichen и herausgeben, по-подробно в (van Crevel 2008: 8).

[2] Така в началото на 80-те са наречени някои стихове с определен уклон към поетиката на модернизма, което прави разбираемостта им за тогавашните читатели и критици проблематична.

Декламирането често е съпровождано с импровизации на стихове по определена тема (експромт), възкресяващи стародавната китайска традиция на поетически събеседвания, съревнования и интелектуални предизвикателства. Още по-важно е, че по този начин се постига същностно значимото за тези поети органично сливане на поезията с битието, с телесността и със стихията на разговорната (в това число и диалектната) реч.

Друг начин на поетическо разпространение е писмената кореспонденция. Тя е едновременно най-достъпната (включително финансово), най-свободната и най-автентичната форма на контактуване, особено в студентските среди. Писмовното общуване, което има стародавни традиции още от най-ранните епохи на Поднебесната, през разглеждания период преживява истински разцвет. В рамките на една и съща провинция и между най-отдалечените кътчета на Китай се разменят писма със споделени стихове, отзиви, естетически възгледи, намерения, лични преживелици, имена и стихове на западни автори, чернови на манифести, адреси на нови съмишленици... Количеството кореспонденция на някои поети достига до хиляда и повече изпратени и подобен брой получени писма. Някои от класическите текстове на *модерния дискурс* всъщност се разпространяват първоначално чрез писма, като между посветени.

Неофициалните поетически издания (民刊, съкр. от 民办刊物, букв. „издание, правено от 民 обикновени хора, в противовес на 官 официални служители"), които са главният обект на нашия интерес, представляват най-специфичната част от информационните канали на *модерния дискурс* през 80-те. Те са връхна изява на една традиция в ъндърграунд литературата, която започва през 60-те години с ефимерното съществуване на „Поетическо общество X" (X 诗社) и неговото издание с „тираж" едва от няколко ръкописни бройки. В края на 70-те години неофициалните издания се увеличават и значително разширяват сферата на разпространение и влияние. Това важи в пълна сила за легендарното списание „Днес" (今天, 1978–80 г.) с неговата модерност и концептуална безкомпромисност. Тези качества привличат към списанието толкова широка аудитория, че в крайна сметка се стига до заимстване на материали от „Днес"

в официалните печатни издания, което е знаменателен пробив за ъндърграунд литературата. Именно примерът на „Днес“ се мултиплицира и усъвършенства в по-късните издания през 80-те години, особено свързаните с т.нар. *Трето поколение* (第三代), т.е. следващата поетическата генерация след *поезията на забулената луна*. Цялостното осъвременяване на китайското общество дава възможност за използване на по-модерна техника за отпечатване, така че след преписаните на ръка броеве на 60-те и допотопните циклостилни броеве на „Днес“ от края на 70-те, през 80-те някои от неофициалните издания вече излизат изпод пресите на печатниците, „съвсем като истински списания“[3]. Това позволява увеличаване на тиража, разширяване на читателския кръг и въобще на пространството на *модерния дискурс*.

Всъщност възприетото мнение, че независимите издания водят съществуването си от 60-те години на 20 в., следва да бъде коригирано. Несъмнено този период е прелюдия към техния апогей през 80-те, но внимателният поглед ще открие зараждането им още в зората на съвременната китайска литература от края на 19. и началото на 20 в.

В названието 民刊 е заложено противопоставяне поне срещу три компонента:

1. 官 (официално, официозно, правителствено, административно контролирано и т.н.);

2. 精英 (елит, елитно изкуство и култура);

3. 中心 (център, сърцевина, канон).

Конструирано антиномично спрямо тези три концепта, понятието 民刊 обема в себе си характеристиката на неофициално, неконтролирано, независимо, достъпно, неканонично, неформално, алтернативно и маргинално издание.

В този смисъл цялата литературна периодика от началото на 20 в., осъществила конструирането на съвременния китайски литературен език и идентичност, не представлява нищо друго освен 民刊 – независими издания. А преходът от периода на Ре-

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3 Тази традиция на ъндърграунда изживява нов разцвет в епохата на Интернет, пораждайки независимите литературни сайтове.

публиката (т.е. след 1911 г.) към този на Народната република (след 1949 г.) може да бъде описан през призмата на медийните превъплъщения като **трансформация от предимно независими издания към строго институционализирана среда, доминирана от официалната/официозната периодика**.

Следователно списание „Днес" и неофициалните списания от втората половина на 80-те години съживяват полемичния и независим дух на периодиката преди 1949 г., продължават го в специфичната ситуация на полу-легалност и ограничено разпространение и всъщност представляват една от малкото линии на приемственост между двете епохи.

Поради функционирането на неофициалните издания през 80-те в сферата на маргиналното, субкултурното и полу-легалното, дълго време те остават встрани от изследователския интерес в Китай и проблемът с изворовите материали продължава да бъде открит. Независимата периодика все така отсъства от каталозите и хранилищата на библиотеките, в университетите липсват нейни архиви, информацията е разпиляна в „частни колекции" и по всяка вероятност най-пълната база данни с неофициални издания продължава да се намира в чужбина, благодарение най-вече на усилията на проф. Махиел ван Кревел от Лайденския университет[4].

Въпреки затрудненията с наличните сведения, ролята на независимите издания обаче е извън всякакво съмнение. В текста „Независимите издания – една малка традиция в китайската поезия" поетът Си Чуан отбелязва с горчивина как, макар да не достигат гигантски мащаби, изследванията върху новата китайска поезия в чужбина продължават с определено постоянство, докато „на родна почва все още съществуват някои проблеми, например нито един университет не обръща внимание колко важно за литературната история е събирането на неофициални поетически издания" (Xi).

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4 Неговите онлайн библиографии на автори, сборници и неофициални издания са налични на сайта на The MCLC Resource Center (http://u.osu.edu/mclc/online-series/vancrevel3/, придружени с кратки, но прецизни анотации.

Луо Джън-я, един от най-авторитетните изследователи на поезията след *забулената луна*, също подчертава ролята на независимите публикации в статия с красноречивото заглавие „Стратегията на независимите издания в авангардната поезия на новото време" (Луо 2007, 59–63).

Задълбочено и в същото време вдъхновено разглежда темата Фу Юанфън (傅元峰), преподавател в Центъра за изследване на новата китайска поезия към Нанкинския университет, в своето „Проучване на културната идентичност в независимите издания на новата китайската поезия" (中国当代诗歌民刊文化身份论). Той полага въпроса в по-обхватен интерпретативен хоризонт и за първи път прокарва паралел между независимата периодика преди 1949 г. и неофициалните издания. Но Фу отива още по-далеч, настоявайки за съществуване на ясно очертана линия на 民间性 (неофициалност, популярност, независимост, масовост, т.е. на всички смислови нюанси, съдържащи се в понятието) още от самото зараждане на периодиката в Китай през династия Тан. От което следва, че „в китайската периодика винаги скрито е присъствало противопоставянето между *официално* (官) и *неофициално* (民)". Според Фу периодичните издания в Китай категорично не се появяват под западно влияние, защото официалната периодика (官报) е съществувала още от древността. Разцветът на съвременната периодика обаче представлява ново развитие на „независимата" (民间) линия: подемът на съвременните издания е всъщност подем на независимата периодика" (Fu 2015: 78).

Погледната от ракурса на Фу Юанфън, „малката традиция" (според термина на Си Чуан) придобива протяжните и дълбоки измерения на една изконна традиция на алтернативността, на архетипен механизъм на неформалната другост и неочаквано поставя авангардните медийни жестове в традиционен контекст. Фу прилага и следната „Диаграма на основаните през различните години неофициални издания (според непълна статистика)":
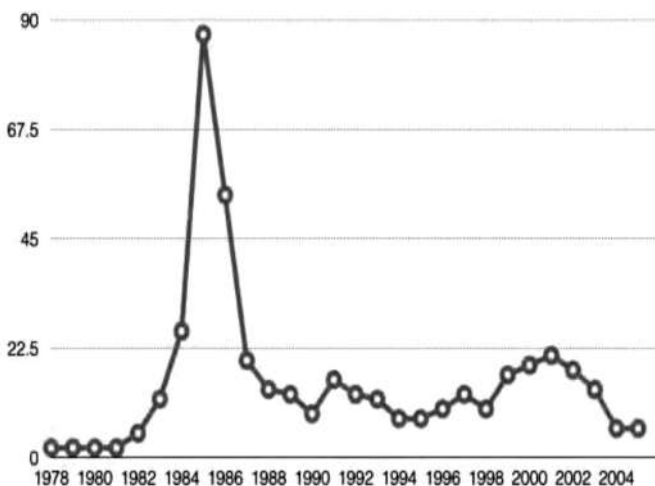
Както се вижда, през разглеждания от нас период около средата на 80-те години линията на диаграмата категорично буквализира метафората „вълна на независимите издания“. В този смисъл не е пресилено да се заяви, че **неофициалните издания, това са летописите на китайската авангардна поезия**.[5]

Въз основа на наличния материал може да се изведе следната посока в еволюцията на независимите издания от началото до средата на 80-те.

В нейното начало стои образецът – като технология на издаване и разпространение, но и като поетика – на списание „Днес“. Особено отчетливо е нейното въздействие в университетите. Възползвайки се от изпитания механизъм за създаване и разпространение на списание „Днес“, там масово се „издават“ неофициални литературни вестници и списания. Студентските литературни вестници представляват нова, осъвременена откъм техника за размножаване и тираж, версия на неофициалните из-

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5 Симптоматично е, че изследователският интерес към неофициалната поезия на Майкъл Дей започва именно от едно такова издание с редактор Ляо И-у (廖亦武), след което Дей се превключва на другия информационен канал – епистоларния контакт, започва кореспонденция с Ляо и пристъпва към събиране на материали за неофициалната поезия, продължило през целия му седемгодишен престой в Китай до 1992 г.

дания с относително свободно разпространение. По своите характеристики те се делят на три типа:

1. Издания на крупни литературни общности на няколко университета. Такива са например създаденото през 1984 г. от „Студентската поетическа асоциация на пров. Хъйлундзян" списание „Студентска поетическа трибуна" (大学生诗坛); „Студентски поетически вестник" (大学生诗报), общо дело на Югозападния педагодически университет в Чунцин, Чунцинския университет, Съчуанския институт за чужди езици и др.

2. Издания на отделни университетски литературни общности, примерно „Нови листи" (新叶) – списание на Ляонинския педагогически университет; „Ние" (我们), разпространявано от името на поетическия клуб в Северозападния педагогически университет.

3. Самиздат проекти на студенти-поети, сами или с участието на съмишленици, да речем „Стената на ехото" (回音壁诗刊, 1982 г.), с основно действащо лице Фън Синчън (封新成) от Ланджоуския университет; „Произведение №1" (作品1号), създадено през 1982 г. с усилията на Уан Ин (王寅), Чън Дундун (陈东东) и поетесата Лу Имин (陆怡敏), всички те студенти във Факултета по китайски език на Шанхайския педагогически университет; „Звезда на просвещението" (启明星) – стихотворното списание на Пекинския университет, списвано от поети като Хай Дзъ (海子), Си Чуан (西川), Луо И-хъ (骆一禾).

Така творчеството на Бей Дао и останалите поети на *забулената луна* достига до районите извън Пекин и трансферира характеристиките на китайската модерност. Студентските издания изпълняват функциите на „материалите за вътрешна циркулация" (内部交流资料)[6] през 60-те и 70-те години и продължават

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[6] „Материалите за вътрешна циркулация" са били предназначени само за средните и висшите партийни функционери, като задачата им е била да ги запознаят с основните философски, политически, социални и литературни текстове на „класовия враг". Но жадните за различна литература младежи ги използват като източник на информация, каквато не могат да открият в официалната литературна периодика.

делото на списание „Днес“, подготвяйки следващата естетическа революция.

За опосредстваното въздействие на стиховете от списание „Днес“, представени от неофициалните студентски издания споменава в своята лекция и Хъ Сяоджу (何小竹, р. 1961 г.), една от знаковите фигури през втората половина на 80-те години: „Получих един брой студентско списание на Пекинския университет, наречено „Безименното езеро“. Любопитството ми привлече критически текст, посветен на дотогава неизвестни за мен поети като Бей Дао, Ман Къ, Гу Чън... След прочитането на техните стихове, почувствах необикновено вълнение. Сякаш бях открил нов континент! Значи можело да се пише и така?! Толкова различно от поезията, която бях чел преди в официалните издания. От този следобед насетне у мен се породи поривът да пиша стихове.“[7] Подобни откровения откриваме в спомени и интервюта на мнозина поети, започнали своето творчество именно под знака на *забулената луна*.

По същество студентските издания неосъзнато подпомагат официалните писателски органи в оформянето на каноничния поетически корпус[8] на *забулената луна*. След 1983 г. обаче респектът към Бей Дао постепенно избледнява, процентът на обвеяните от *забулената луна* страници постъпателно намалява в полза на стихове от непознати поети и авторите на *забулената луна* вече присъстват най-вече като компромисен параван пред текстовете на следващото поетическо поколение. По-късно и този параван е премахнат.

Това се случва в най-авангардните независими списания от средата на 80-те години. Те представляват средоточие на съмишленици с прецизен подбор и ясно фокусирана поетическа стратегия, изразена с манифестни текстове или имплицитно – в метапоетическата осъзнатост на текстовете, типографските решения и пр.

Причини от всякакво естество: проблеми с властите, финансови трудности, разрив в отношенията между главните действа-

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[7]   Лекция, изнесена на 15. юни 2011 г. в Институт Конфуций, София.

[8]   Канонът, за който говорим, е амбивалентен и функционира едновременно като канон на маргиналността и компромисен набор от текстове, които са в режим на инкорпориране в официалната литература.

щи лица, промяна в поетическите възгледи и т.н. често водят до неколкократното преименуване и твърде краткия живот на тези издания. Фактически повечето от тях просъществуват едва в няколко броя (нерядко и само един) или излизат с неравномерно прекъсване. Едноименното списание на прочутата поетическа група „Грубияните"（莽汉）например излиза в един-единствен брой. Между първия и втория брой на изданието на друго прочуто направление – Фейфей (非非主义) пък минават три години, през които настъпват толкова сериозни изменения сред участниците и естетическия облик на направлението, че може да се говори за две различни списания. Със съвсем произволна периодичност се отличава и трето влиятелно издание от този период – нанкинското списание „Те" (他们文学杂志) с главни идеолози Хан Дун (韩东) и Ю Дзиен (于坚).

Въпреки нерегулярната си поява, тези списания са плод на целеустремена естетическа визия: в тях са поместени манифестите и най-важните текстове на съответните движения, а типографското оформяне и изпълнение не отстъпват на официалните издания. Успоредно с безкомпромисния подбор, те преодоляват регионалните граници и включват автори от цял Китай, с което функционират като антологични подборки на съответни художествени нагласи. И това обяснява факта, че практически всеки значим китайски поет на 80-те започва прави своя дебют именно на техните страници.

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The Rare Chinese Book Collection in the National Library of Scotland: Sources, Distinctive Copies and the Current Situation

Wang Yibo

Abstract

Libraries such as Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library of Oxford University have boasted Chinese collections since the beginning of 20ᵗʰ Century. However, for a long time, few people were aware of the existence of comparable collections in Scotland. There is no evidence of researchers accessing the rare Chinese books in the National Library of Scotland (NLS). I commenced research into this rare corpus in October 2014 and have systematically categorized 91 series of rare Chinese books in total. This study will present the results of my research according to three aspects. Firstly, I will introduce the sources of these books. Secondly, I will explore the most featured books in this collection. Finally, I will talk about current issues pertaining to this collection, suggesting ultimately that the texts need to be re-classified, digitalized and repaired.

People have long known about rare Chinese book collections in the British Library, SOAS, the Bodleian Libraries of Oxford and the Cambridge University Library; indeed, a great deal of work has been undertaken in these sites (Xie 2015: 75–76). However, there are still many books in Scotland waiting to be studied. The National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), located in Edinburgh, is one of the six Legal Deposit Libraries in the UK and a reference library with world-class collections. Since October 2014, I commenced cataloguing and researching the Chinese book collection of NLS; the process led to the re-discovery of 91 kinds of rare Chinese books. I will thus discuss the general features, sources, unique copies and current situation of these books.

1. General features and possible sources of this collection

1.1 General features

There are altogether 91 series of rare Chinese books in the NLS. Because of the limited number and particular features of the texts, I am less inclined to catalogue them following the classical Four-Branch Classification. From the specific texts of these books, they can be classified into three main groups:

(1) Western and missionary books: altogether 38 series, including Chinese translations of various Christian classics and books written by western people, especially missionaries. Among them the oldest one is *Tianzhujiao Shengjiao Qimeng and Nian Zhu Gui Cheng*《天主聖教啓蒙-念珠規程》 which was published at the end of the Ming Dynasty, and *Yuanxi Qiqi Tushuo Luzui*《遠西奇器圖說錄最》 which was published in the 7th year of Tianqi Reign Period (1627). A later text is a *New Testment*《新遺詔書》 translated by the famous missionary Robert Morrison and published in 1813. This group also includes many missionary publications printed using the copper movable type of the Anglo-Chinese College (yinghua shuyuan 英華書院) of Hong Kong (Su 1996: 256).

(2) *Jing* 经 (Confucian classics) and *shi* 史 (history) books: in total, 24 series.[1] This group includes historical, geographical and military books, county annals and books about economical records. Amongst these books, the earliest publication is *Jintang Jiezhu Shier Chou*《金湯借箸十二籌》, a military book published around the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties. The second oldest is *Yuzhi Quanshan Yaoyan*《御制勸善要言》, a book about Confucian morals written by Emperor Shunzhi and published in the 12th year of Shunzhi reign period (1655).

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[1] Here Confucian classics and history refer to the *jing* and *shi* of the first two branches of the Chinese Four-branch of books' classification.

(3)   Literature and art books: altogether 25 series. The earliest ones are probably *Lizhi Ji* 《荔枝記》 (hereafter *LZJ*) and *Wan Jin Hui Yin* 《萬錦嬉音》 (hereafter *WJHY*); both were published around the 32nd year of the Wanli reign period (1604).[2] They are followed by a much later publication, *Yizhengtang Chongxiu Xuanhe Bogu Tulu* 《亦政堂重修宣和博古圖》, which was published in the 17th year of Qianlong reign period (1752). This group also consists of a large amount of *Jiezi Yuan Huapu* 《芥子園畫譜 that are, in my opinion, reprints of the original edition published at the end of Qing Dynasty.

In addition to these groups, there are also three books that are difficult to classify. There is a veterinary work on horses entitled *Yuanheng Liaoma Ji* 《元亨療馬集》, a medical book, *Tuxiang Bencao Mengquan* 《圖像本草蒙荃》, and a combined religious book, *Sanjiao Yuanlian Shengdi Foshuai Soushen Daquan* 《三教源流聖帝佛帥搜神大全》. Some non-Chinese books and publications are also included in the collection. Among them are several Japanese publications, such as *Sishu Wujing Zengbu Wenxuan Ziyin Quan* 《四書五經增補文選字引全》 and *Jiayong Xinzeng Sisheng Zhengyun Zilin Daquan Wan* 《嘉永新增四聲正韻字林大全完》, which are Chinese dictionaries for Confucian studies. There is a magazine of the Library of Zhejiang published in 1928, as well as a complete wood-carved copy of the famous *Admonitions Scroll* (*Nv Shi Zhen Tu*, 《女史箴圖》), produced in 1912.

Most books have illustrations, and some, such as *Xu Fan Cha Tu* 《續泛槎圖》 are indeed books of illustrations, suggesting that the collectors may have had a preference for illustration over content.

1.2 Possible resources

Based on a written catalogue, NLS divided their Chinese book collection into two sets. The first set, with shelf-mark 6.539 to 6.543, altogether 34 volumes, has a catalogue made by Rev. John Steele

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[2]   For more information about LZJ, see my conference essay *A Brief Research on Wan Jin Hui Yin: A Unique Opera Anthology Published in the Ming Dynasty and Stored in the National Library of Scotland* presented at BACS2015.

(1868-1960) in the year 1910.[3] The second set is shelf-marks 1549-5.1552, 6.549-6.551 and 6.553-6.554, altogether 92 volumes; no further details of the sources have been discovered. By carefully conducting textual and historical research, I classified their sources into three main groups:

(1) Rev. John Steele and the 34 series of books
Books with shelfmarks from 6.539 to 6.543; each of them has a bookmark "Advocates Library's Chinese Books No. 1-34" (hereafter AL). I believe that the major part of this set was brought to Edinburgh in 1910 by the Scottish Presbyterian missionary Rev. John Steele and his wife Elizabeth Turnbull.[4] Steele, born in Ireland in 1868, took part in the missionary activities of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in China and mastered Chinese. He taught for a long time at an Anglo-Chinese College in Shantou 汕头. At the end of 1910, possibly due to his declining visual acuity, Steele and his wife had to return to England from China. When they arrived in Edinburgh, they donated several series of books to the Advocates Library. Afterwards, he sorted these books and other collections in the Advocates Library and compiled hand-written catalogues. The bookmarks were then printed and numbered by him. Most of these books were publications from Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Fujian Province and many of them are related to missionary practice.

It is important to note that as stated on the NLS website, there are 4 series of books amongst the above 34 series

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3 https://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/snpc/detail.cfm?id=450&subjectid=4&collection=450&keyword=&passedsubject=4&passedcollection=450&passedkeyword=&origin=browse, 2017, 30.09.2017. According to it, the first set has 35 series of books but in fact there are only 34. The book Dong Hua Lu has two volumes but have been mistakenly put into two different boxes which resulted in the number 35.

4 The information about Rev. John Steele and his wife, is from the website of NLS http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/snpc/list.cfm?letter=C (last update: 12th Mar 2015), the family tree website http://lackfamily.net/genealogy/names/whole%20family/f1263.html (last update: 12th Mar 2015), and the report on The Straits Times, 30th Dec. 1913, 8th edition.

which are listed as gifts from Rev. John Ross, D.D (1842–1915), but I found only one book, *Yuzhi Quanshan Yaoyan* 《御制勸善要言》, which had a clear note on its front page suggesting this. Ross was a Scottish Protestant missionary to Northeast China who established Dongguan Church in Shenyang. Considering that he mainly worked in northern China, it is highly possible that books published in Beijing and Shandong province such as *Xifan Yiyu* 《西番譯語》, *Donghua Lu* 《東華錄》 and *Manhan Hebi Sishu* 《滿漢合璧四書》 were brought by him to Scotland.

(2) David Thom and books from Guangdong and Ningbo

Other books that have a clear source are Yinghua Tongyong Zahua 《華英通用雜話》 (6.541, AL 25) and Zhengyin Cuoyao 《正音撮要》 (6.541, AL 26). The author of both books is the famous translator Robert Thom (羅伯聃, 1807–1846). Accoding to the text written on the frontpage of both books, it was Robert Thom's brother David Thom (1795–1862), who gave them as gifts to the Advocates Library in 1855.[5] Additionally, there is another book, *Bowu Xinbian* 《博物新編》 (5.1551), without an AL bookmark but which has a signature "D. Thom" on it. This book may have been stored in a different place in 1910, which would explain its absence from the catalogue made by Steele.

Robert Thom used to work and live in Guangdong province and Ningbo (Li 2011: 8). In this way, books related to these areas and published before 1855, such as *Chuxue Yueyin Qieyao* 《初學粵音切要》 and *Guangdong Tongzhi* 《廣東通志》, are all probably from him and given to the library through his brother David Thom.

(3) Others

None of the above collectors are known to have visited Japan but NLS does own several Japanese publications such as the *Sishu Wujing Zengbu Wenxuan Ziyin Quan* 《四書五

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[5] The relationship between Robert and David Thom are found in David's book, Divine Inversion: Or a View of the Character of God as in All Respects Opposed to the Character of Man, published by Simpkin, Marshall and Co in 1842.

經增補文選字引全》 noted above. They were most likely to have been brought to Scotland by missionaries who had been active in Japan. However, whether these missionaries went to China or brought any Chinese books to NLS remains unknown. The copy of *Admonitions Scroll* published in 1912 and the magazine of the Library of Zhejiang published in 1928 shows that there was at least one expansion of the collection after 1910.

2. Distinctive copies

2.1 LZJ

LZJ is a local opera popular around southern Fujian and eastern Guangdong provinces. It depicts the love story of Chen San and Wu Niang. The Jiajing (hereafter *JJE*), Wanli (hereafter *WLE*), Shunzhi (hereafter *SZE*), Daoguang (hereafter *DGE*) and Guangxu (hereafter *GXE*) editions may be found around the world.[6] The NLS *LZJ* (hereafter *NLSE*) is a newly discovered edition of *LZJ* which has never been hitherto recorded. The original book cover has already been lost and replaced by a western-style hardback cover. It was bound up with another book, *Tuxiang Bencao Mengquan* 《图像本草蒙荃》, but in the opposite direction. The length is 26 cm and width 14 cm. Each half-leaf contains ten columns of twenty-four (main text) characters. It uses single columns around each leaf and is without 'fish-tail'. In the centre strip is the page number. Altogether there are 78 pages left in the book without any preface or postscript. The first 72 pages are *LZJ*, pages 73 to 78 have the title *Xinzhai Chaodiao Chensan Bing Quannan Jinqu Jiadiao Quanji* (A Complete Collection of the Newly Edited Chen San Songs in Chaozhou Tunes Together with Nice and Beautiful Songs from the South Part of Quanzhou, 《新摘潮调陈三并泉南锦曲加调全集》). There are also 24 half-page illustrations in Lychee with names on each illustration. The paper is made of bamboo and some centre strips have broken up. After the reshipment carried out by westerners, the *xialan xian* (under column line, 下栏线）lost its original, ordered look. All in all, it is an attractive, clearly printed book.

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6   For more information about these five editions, see Pan Peizhong's essay.

I compared NLSE together with MTC, which was published in 1604 as mentioned above, by two publishers, Li Bifeng 李碧峰 and Chen Wohan 陈我含 in Haicheng 海澄 of Zhangzhou 漳州 (today Longhai 龙海 city). Based on the illustrations being highly similar and one song being exactly the same, it may be be deduced that *NLSE* is another publication of Li and Chen and was published around 1604. I also compared the text of *NLSE* together with 5 other extant editions, especially *WLE*, and found that *NLSE* also belongs to the Chaozhou system of this story. It forms a connecting link between the preceding *JJE* and *WLE*, and the subsequent *SZE*, *DGE* and *GXE*. It is an important part of the reception and transmission process of *LZJ*. The discovery of this book will benefit later researchers in both opera studies and historical studies.

2.3 Folk almanacs

Tongshu 通书, or folk almanacs, are lunar calendars from private publishing houses and contain much more information than an ephemeris or calendar. There are 2 folk almanacs stored in NLS. The first one is *Daoguang Sanshinian Tongshu* 《道光三十年通書》 (folk almanacs of the 30th year of the Daoguang reign period, 1850) published by Wugui Tang 五桂堂 in the 29th year of the Daoguang reign period (1849). The original paper covers still retain a red paper *shuqian* (title leaf on which the book's name is printed, 書籤). It does not list page numbers or volume numbers. The length is 23.5 cm and the width 13.7 cm. It uses both single and double columns around each leaf, with black or white fish-tail. In the centre strip is the publishing house's name, Wugui Tang 五桂堂, sometimes written as Wugui Tang zhenben (real copy of Wugui Tang, 五桂堂真本). On the first page there is a picture, depicting two children holding a big fan with the complete title of the book *Wugui Tang Daquan Tongshu* 《五桂堂大全通書》. The second is *Xianfeng Banian Tongshu* 《咸豐八年通書》 (folk almanacs of the 8th year of the Xianfeng reign period, 1858) published by Danzhu Tang 丹柱堂 in the 7th year of the Xianfeng reign period (1857). The other publication features are identical to the first one.

Based on the research conducted by Shen Jin on four folk almanacs stored in the Harvard–Yenching Library, published mostly by Dangui

Tang 丹桂堂 of the Su 蘇 family from 1845 to 1886, I found that the official notices of the publishing house in the beginning of each book are only slightly different from each other (Shen 2009: 163). The notices of Wugui Tang and Danzhu Tang are practically identical to the notice of Dangui Tang, but with words like "our publishing house has a history of 6 generations （本堂歷傳六代)", "Su family located at Jiuyao market of our capital city（省城九曜坊蘇)", "(if someone palm off us) they will suffer from bad fortune（如有假冒招牌者，男災女禍)" being removed. In this way, I believe that the folk almanacs of Wugui Tang and Danzhu Tang from NLS, including that of Pangui Tang 攀桂堂 that Shen found in Harvard, are counterfeit publications of Dangui Tang.

These two folk almanacs contain many religious pictures, poems, and instructions for everyday life. They have a guide about lucky and unlucky directions of the year named *Liu Nian Shi Kuan* 《流年事欵》, a *Tianguan Cifu Tu* 《天官賜福圖》, which show the details of a person's fate for the next year, a poem about the gods of four seasons and lucky days to wash heads, pierce ears or bind feet. There are also astronomy pictures such as *Yushu Zhi Tu* 《虞書之圖》 (picture of the ecliptic and equatorial diagrams). They help researchers not only to gauge the blooming publishing industry and rampant book piracy at the end of the Qing Dynasty, but they also proffer authentic insights into the everyday rural life of the people of that era.

Besides the four series of books I discussed above, there are still some more books worthy of study. For example, *Wu Bei Mi Shu* 《武備秘書》, in which it is recorded that the Diaoyu Islands were already patrolled by the navy of the Ming Dynasty; *Xu Fan Cha Tu San Ji* 《續泛槎圖三集》 and *Yi Cha Tu Si Ji* 《艤槎圖四》, which has high quality woodblock illustrations, etc.

3. The Current Situation

The rare Chinese books in the NLS are bonded together with cotton threads and put into customized antiacid boxes exactly like rare western books. There is no further specific protection for these Chinese books. Most of them are in reasonable condition, in particular, they seem to be seldom afflicted by bookworms. However,

some of the books suffer from problems like broken threads, lost leaves, lost bookmarks and covers. Some earlier publications, such as *LZJ*, have broken centre strips which need immediate repair. All in all, the library needs to canvas help from professional rare Chinese book protectors to repair them and make new book boxes.

As regards collating and cataloging, NLS has not undertaken this work. In my opinion, in order to protect and make the most of this rare corpus, NLS ought to be encouraged to catalogue and produce digital versions of all the books, based on a more detailed classification.

The rare Chinese book collection of the NLS has been a hidden gem in Scotland since the last century; its unique and distinctive items merit further research.

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Daoism and Poetry at the Southern Courts (420–589)

Zornica Kirkova

Abstract

The paper examines some aspects of the interaction between court poetry and Daoist religion, particularly the Shangqing tradition, during the late Six Dynasties. It focuses on the influences the Shangqing revelations exerted in conditioning the imagery and vocabulary of many early medieval poets and seeks to reevaluate the importance of Daoist religious thought in the intellectual life of the period.

Keywords: court poetry, Six Dynasties, Shangqing, Daoism

Only recently have scholars of Chinese literature begun to appreciate the importance of Daoist canonical texts and especially those written in verse for a proper understanding of the work of many medieval poets.[1] Daoism-inspired poetry had consequently been ignored, denigrated or misinterpreted by traditional critics who did not consider descriptions of fantastic vistas and mystical explorations to be serious, self-justifiable poetic subjects. Orthodox critics almost unanimously viewed the so-called Daoist sentiments of a certain author in the light of politics, – as allegories of his dissatisfaction with political life, as indications of his "escapist" tendencies, – or else they regarded as the only Daoist statements worth examining the allusions to philosophical concepts contained in *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. Poetry on Daoist themes composed during the "decadent" periods of the Southern Qi南齊 (479–502), Liang 梁 (502–557), and Chen 南陳 (557–589) neither allows allegorical interpretation nor reflects *xuanxue* thought and hence was simply ignored. And yet, poems on Daoist themes were not only composed in much larger numbers

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[1]   Pioneering works in this field are the studies of Li Fengmao (some of them collected in Li 1996), of Edward Schafer (especially on the Tang poets Wu Yun, Cao Tang and Guan Xiu) and of Paul W. Kroll (collected in Kroll 2006).

during the Southern Dynasties (a period dominated by Buddhist thought), but they also exhibit a much closer connection to the religious traditions of the time.

Daoist topics and imagery actually entered Chinese poetry during the Han dynasty. They were most generally connected with the theme of the pursuit of Daoist *xian* 仙 immortality (a term also translated as transcendency) – a perfected, blissful and enduring state of being that could be achieved through personal effort during one's lifetime. At the beginning of the sixth century, *youxian* 遊仙 (roaming into immortality) was a well-established literary theme and in the *Wenxuan* 文選 anthology it was distinguished as a thematic category of lyrical poetry. One of the major sources of this type of verse was the mystic quest poetics of the *Chuci* 楚辭 tradition; others included early Daoist texts such as *Huainanzi* and *Zhuangzi*, and hagiographies of immortals like *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 from the Eastern Han period.

During the Han and Wei dynasties, the *youxian* plot typically involved a fantastic journey in search of immortality elixir, and its subsequent acquisition during a feast in one of the paradise lands – Penglai or Kunlun. During the Western Jin 西晉 (265–317) period poetry on immortality often came close to eremitic poetry (*zhaoyin* 招隱) and was increasingly coloured by philosophical Daoist speculations. During the fifth and sixth centuries, significant transformations in imagery and diction took place, which are related both to the social context in which poetry was created, and to the then recent developments in Daoist thought and religious practice. I will here briefly survey some of the new developments and the factors behind them.[2]

During the Southern Dynasties poetry was composed within, and consumed by, narrow elite circles in the courts and literary salons presided over by imperial princes and emperors. A large proportion of poems on immortality were improvised during group composition on a set topic, during court outings and feasts, or as poetic exchange with patrons and friends. Utilizing the striking imagery of Daoism in such poems provided a superb occasion to display one's poetic skill and cleverness in the highly competitive court environment. In

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[2] These are discussed in more detail in Kirkova 2016.

addition, poets often transposed an elegant mundane event, such as a feast or outing, onto the sphere of the divine in order to hyperbolically flatter patrons and companions.

Besides poems that use Daoist imagery for public display and as a delightful pastime, Daoist themes appear during the Southern Dynasties in compositions dealing with personal spiritual pursuits. A range of poems were created on occasions that might be designated as "Daoist". Such occasions include a dream vision and the acquisition of a sacred scripture, being presented with an alchemical elixir or a method of its preparation, consumption of drugs, exchanging poetic correspondence with Daoist masters. Numerous poems were written on the topic of visiting Daoist temples – a new theme which entered poetry in the late fifth century. Court poets also composed poems on participating in Daoist religious ceremonies. Poems were even created in imitation of Daoist ritual hymns. Among those who wrote on Daoist themes there are authors who have entered history as devoted Buddhists, for instance Wang Rong 王融 (468–494) and Emperor Wu武 of Liang (464–549). Daoist imagery in these compositions is neither a metaphor for the ideal realm of one's aspirations nor poetical embellishment of mundane scenes. It refers to concepts and practices closely connected with the Daoism of the time – above all with the Shangqing 上清 (Supreme Purity) tradition that defined itself during the Six Dynasties period and later assumed central importance in the religious life of the Tang.

This tradition was based on a series of revelations, granted between 363 and 370 to the visionary Yang Xi 楊羲 (330–386) by Daoist divinities who called themselves *zhenren* 真人 (True or Perfected Ones). The new movement claimed to be on a higher level than its forerunners – the revelations emanated from the loftiest, hitherto unknown heavenly spheres and came from the hands of the highest gods. It was in fact a synthesis of the local southern ecstatic traditions, the late-Zhou and Han traditions of immortality seekers, and the religion of the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi dao* 天師道), imbued with some concepts borrowed from Buddhism and, very significantly, with elements of elite literary traditions. A large portion of the revelations was in the form of exquisite verse, describing landscapes of the highest heavens and breath-taking cosmic journeys.

The outstanding literary qualities of this poetry and the remarkable calligraphy in which Yang Xi transcribed the divine words, helped them to gain the attention of the highly erudite gentry of the period.

At the beginning of the fifth century, the texts transcribed by Yang Xi began to disperse among other southern gentry families. During the fifth century several eminent Daoists attempted to reassemble the original corpus of revealed texts. The most renowned among them was the scholar and Daoist master Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536). During his early secular career he held several court appointments at the Liu-Song and Qi courts. He established deep personal ties to many aristocrats and Buddhist thinkers, to leading poets of the age, such as Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), Fan Yun 范雲 (461–503), Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508), and to Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549), the future founder of the Liang Dynasty (Emperor Wu). In 492 Tao Hongjing left his official post and retired to Mount Mao 茅 (southeast of present day Nanjing) where, working under direct imperial protection, he directed a community of Daoists and devoted himself to the collection and editing of original Shangqing manuscripts. Most influential for the future literary developments was the compilation *Zhen'gao* 真告 (Declarations of the True Ones), which he presented to the Qi throne in 499. This work consisted of a retelling of Yang Xi's visions, transcripts of the incantations of divinities, miscellaneous instructions, revelations and descriptions of esoteric geography dictated by the deities of the Shangqing heaven. The book was intended for wider circulation, with the aim of introducing both the literary brilliance and the religious message of the Perfected to a wider cultivated public. This is also the approximate time point when new esoteric imagery and vocabulary began to appear in court poetry.

One of the most apparent novel features in poetry of the time is the expanding topography of the divine realm. The Shangqing revelations had brought knowledge of higher, hitherto unknown heavenly zones and paradises at the ends of the world and provided lengthy accounts of their appearance. From the late fifth century on, these new localities start to appear also in poetry written at court. For instance, in 512 Emperor Wu of Liang composed a set of seven *yuefu* songs under the title *Shangyun yue* 上雲樂.[3] Six of them describe paradises of

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[3] In Lu 1983: 1524–26.

Shangqing Daoism, such as Mount Tongbo 桐柏, Fangzhu 方諸 Island, Mount Jinling 金陵, and assemblies of divinities and immortals taking place there. Shen Yue and poets from the younger generations, such as Dai Gao 戴暠 and Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581) also frequently refer to divine sites that are connected with the Shangqing tradition: the Mystic Continent (Xuanzhou 玄洲) and the Purple Prefecture (Zifu 紫府), for instance. Furthermore, in the aftermath of the Shangqing revelations a new type of paradise realms entered court poetry – these are the Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) and Blissful Lands (*fudi* 福地). These were perfect worlds in miniature contained within certain sacred mountains into which only a few initiated mortals could penetrate. Some poets occasionally also speak of journeys through the highest heavens that had been recently disclosed by the Shangqing divinities: such as the Jade Purity Heaven (Yuqing 玉清), the Golden Pylons (Jinque 金闕), or the mystic realm of the Jade Void (Yuxu 玉虛).

The plot of attaining immortality also changed in the poetry of the Southern Dynasties.

During the Eastern Han and Wei periods it had been generally depicted as a journey towards some paradise, where the protagonist received from divinities the elixir of life. Often his travels were enabled by techniques of breath cultivation, absorption of cosmic essences and gymnastics described in early Daoist texts. During the Jin dynasty increasing attention was paid to mineral or botanical drugs of immortality which were naturally found in the mountains. From the Liang Dynasty onwards attainment of immortality was no longer conceived as something bestowed by divinities in a distant paradise, but as mastering esoteric arts and spiritual practices pertaining to the Shangqing tradition. In many cases the poems reflect the personal spiritual and alchemical pursuits of their authors. For instance, Shen Yue addressed to his friend and mentor Tao Hongjing a poem, in which he describes in very technical terms inner techniques and alchemic practices that are fundamental to the Shangqing tradition and which he probably knew from Tao's teachings.[4] Shen Yue speaks of his own failed attempts at mental visualisation, "actualisation" (*cun* 存) and circulation of the inner radiances (*jing* 景), and of the

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[4] "Chou Huayang Tao xiansheng shi" 酬華陽陶先生詩, in Lu 1983: 1637.

alchemical elixir of Nine-cycles (*jiuhuan dan* 九還丹), which Tao Hongjing was trying to produce at Emperor Wu's behest.

Furthermore, the art of alchemy replaced the older themes of elixir quest in distant paradises and the search for natural drugs in the mountains. Partaking of different mineral mixtures and alchemical preparations and a lay knowledge of alchemical processes were actually a part of gentry life during the Southern Dynasties. From 504 onwards Emperor Wu of Liang patronised the alchemical pursuits of Tao Hongjing and is recorded as having consumed some of the elixirs presented by the master. One of the songs from Emperor Wu's cycle "Shangyun yue" mentioned above, bears the title "Jindan qu" 金丹曲 and has a purely alchemical content. In it Emperor Wu speaks of processes of sublimation and repeated alchemical transmutations, and of alchemical compounds (Purple Frost and Scarlet Snow) that he might have even personally tasted.

Liang poets' knowledge of contemporary esoteric practices is also evidenced by reference to specific drugs that became known only with the revealed Shangqing scriptures. Wu Jun 吳均 (469–520), for instance, in his poem *Caiyao Dabu shan* 採藥大布山 (Gathering Herbs on Mount Dabu**)** enumerates the elixirs Lungs of a White Phoenix (*bai feng zhi fei*白鳳之肺）and the formidable Dragon Embryo（*longtai* 龍胎），which exclusively belong to the Shangqing revelations. [5]

The lore of Daoist sacred scriptures also makes a novel appearance in the court poetry of the Qi and Liang dynasties. Revealed celestial texts were of crucial importance to the Shangqing tradition. Born spontaneously from the Void at the cosmic beginnings and stored in jade on golden tablets in the celestial palaces, the sacred scriptures were believed to be endowed with primordial energy. Transcripts of the original celestial writings were handed down from Heaven in a series of steps to the lower ranks of gods and immortals until the texts were finally passed on to elected men. Not only practising the content of a scripture, but even repeated recitation of it could elevate one to a higher state of being. Given the divine nature of these texts that could render their rightful owners immortal, and given the social prestige the possession of scriptures ensured, in the

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[5] In Lu 1983: 1739.

fifth century aristocrats and scholars systematically searched for revealed scriptures. Court-composed *youxian* poetry also reflects the fascination with sacred writings. In poems by Wang Rong, Shen Yue, Emperor Wu of Liang we find many references to golden books, jade texts and various other kinds of divine texts, written in exquisite calligraphy on precious materials.

It should be emphasized that the stronger esoteric air perceptible in the southern poetry of the fifth and sixth century accorded also with the aesthetic sensibilities of the court circles. The sacred celestial scriptures not only disclosed divine knowledge, but were splendid objects in themselves. The dazzling images of emerald tablets, golden writs, divine cloud characters, betray the aristocrats' fascination both with the esoteric and with the beautiful.

Similar convergence of courtly refinement and novel religious notions is apparent in the representation of immortals. Earlier poets had focused on their spiritual qualities – mystic withdrawal from the outside world, purity and simplicity, unity with the Dao. In the course of the fifth century a further shift in the perception of immortality can be observed. The True Ones of the Shangqing revelations not only inhabited far higher heavenly spheres than hitherto known but were much more exalted and glamorous beings. Similarly, in court poetry the ideal of spiritual freedom and spontaneity gave way to dazzling visions of the otherworld, in which divine majesty and courtly glamour blended. The immortals are no longer the individualistic, footloose and carefree wanderers or remote recluses, but are instead often depicted as dignified celestial courtiers who participate in heavenly processions and audiences and enjoy all the perks of a high rank (for instance the "Shangyun yue" cycle by Emperor Wu of Liang). No longer shunning celestial service, the immortals become celestial counterparts of imperial officials on earth.

In the coming centuries the whole diapason of Shangqing diction and imagery was to be fully exploited by Tang poets like Li Bai, Wu Yun 吳筠 (?–778), Cao Tang 曹唐 (fl. 847–883). However, much earlier, in the late fifth century, a century after the revelations were witnessed and transcribed by Yang Xi, their religious message and poetics had already entered the consciousness of the cultural elite. The figure of Tao Hongjing was, beyond doubt, instrumental

in disseminating the new esoteric knowledge – both through his compiling and editorial work and personal contacts. Most of the compositions that bear the impact of the Shangqing revelations come from the brushes of poets who had personal links with Tao: Shen Yue, Fan Yun, Xie Tiao, Emperors Wu and Yuan of Liang.

This brief survey of Daoist imagery in the poetry of the late Six Dynasties also helps us reevaluate the place of Daoist religious thought in the intellectual life of the period. What survives to our day is but a tiny fragment of a much larger, no longer extant corpus of texts. Nevertheless, it might not be too far-fetched to assume that such types of religiously tuned "secular" verse were no exception at the time. The public context of the composition of most of them indicates the presence of an audience expected to share the same esoteric knowledge. In this respect, the testimony provided by the non-canonical poetry tells us what competence in esoteric matters an early medieval author reasonably presumed of his listener–his fellow members of the literary salons and his royal patrons. During the Southern Dynasties the enigmatic names of alchemical elixirs, celestial locations, and inner cultivation practices, which in later times were no longer intelligible to the commentators, were not merely the domain of initiated practitioners or of few exceptionally well-read men of letters. They were already integrated into a broader cultural repertoire shared by the cultural and political elite.

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**АКТУАЛНИ ПРОБЛЕМИ В СЪВРЕМЕННАТА КИТАИСТИКА
И ИЗТОКОЗНАНИЕ**

Доклади от международната конференция,
посветена на 25-годишнината от откриването
на специалност „Китаистика" в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски"
Том 1

**CURRENT ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINESE
AND ORIENTAL STUDIES**

Papers from the International Conference,
Dedicated to the 25th Anniversary
of the Establishment of the Chinese Studies Program
at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski"
Vol. 1